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LITHUANIA  
IN  
RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT  
BY

*John Szlupas, M. D.*

Member of the Lithuanian Society of Science.



NEW YORK

Published by the Lithuanian Press Association of America.

1915.



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## THE LITHUANIAN AUTONOMY FUND.

To Mr. J. O. Širvydas, Sec'y, of the Lithuanian Autonomy Fund, Nos. 120-124 Grand St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I desire to contribute to the Lithuanian Autonomy Fund and enclose herewith..... I do this with the understanding that the Lithuanian Autonomy Fund shall in no way compromise the neutrality of the United States of America.

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Initials or Pseudonym.....

## PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

In this, the first complete, though brief, account of the history of Lithuania in the English language, the story of the struggle for existence of a small nation cannot help but grip the interest of the reader.

No one is better fitted to relate the story than Dr. John Szułupas who is distinguished as a historian and lecturer among the Lithuanians, and who has himself been in large measure responsible for the reawakening of the nation which occurred in the early eighties.

A word about the pronunciation of a few of the letters used in the text and map may not be amiss:

Č is pronounced like *ch* in *chat*;

Š is pronounced like *sh* in *show*;

Ž and *zh* are pronounced like *g* in the French word *argent*.

Ē is pronounced like *e* in *effort*.

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,  
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would  
be;  
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,  
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly  
bales;  
Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a  
ghastly dew  
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;  
Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing  
warm,  
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thun-  
derstorm;  
Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags  
were furl'd  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.  
There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm  
in awe,  
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

—*Alfred Lord Tennyson.*



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## INTRODUCTION

There is something wrong with most of the world because might is right. In the past, great and greedy nations were created, and, by the use of cunning in addition to their strength, these nations were able, with but a small expenditure of effort, to dominate or subjugate smaller nationalities. Hence blood-shed, persecution, the poverty and spiritual stagnation of the weaker races; hence bloody wars of extermination between the states in their competition for world supremacy. The great powers, then, have been guilty not of oppression alone, but also of trampling upon the fundamental rights of humanity.

And yet all races are "equally worthy though they do not possess an equal degree of civilization. The differences amongst them can be characterized as being those of age and opportunity. In vain the great nations strove to annihilate the individuality of smaller races; since the French Revolution which awakened the peoples to democracy, Europe presents scores of revived races, but no example of a dead one." "Not all of the smaller races," as Luigi Villari beautifully puts it, "have behind them the splendid record of great achievements in literature, in art, in government, which in France, Spain, Germany, Italy and England inspires national feeling. But they have the recollection of a tenacious adherence to their faith and language through centuries of grievous oppression, mingled with the traditions of their ancient days of independence, and brightened by the hope of a national life in the future."

How can the present deplorable state of affairs be remedied?

The writer believes that a revision of the principles of conduct is necessary. Might must be supplanted by justice

not only in theory, but in practice also. Instead of freedom for a few greedy states alone, there should be freedom for all races and nationalities. Should not every race enjoy liberty so that, through moral elevation, it might become a worthy member of humanity?

A few basic principles of law should be recognized by every nation.

Every nation should provide for the protection of life, liberty and property; every nation should encourage the pursuit of happiness. And the application of such principles of law is what the writer calls justice.

After all, races or nations consist of human beings more or less artificially grouped. If the principles of justice can obtain in one nation between its individuals, there seems to be no reason why the principles of justice could not be applied between races and between nations, thus rendering oppression and war unnecessary.

Dr. James Brown Scott, the great authority on international law, says in substance that

The protection of life, in terms of international law, should mean the right of a nation to exist.

In terms of international law the protection of liberty should mean the right of each race and nation to be independent, to grow and develop without interference or control from without.

And in terms of international law protection of property should mean the right of a race and nation to own property and have jurisdiction within its own boundaries.

To this should be added equality before the law, for races and nations should be equal members of the society of nations.

For the application of the basic principles nations have already established courts of justice. Cannot nations establish an international tribunal with competent judges appointed by agreement for the interpretation and the application of international law in all disputes between races and nations?

The existence and successful operation of courts of law have created an orderly and regulated course of conduct even in those transactions of life which are not controlled by law. Can we not reasonably expect races and nations to agree to the development of a system of law to regulate the conduct of races and their states as members of the society of nations on the basis of the fundamental principles?

The existent nations have already agreed to the formation of some fifty public unions. One of the best examples of such unions is the Universal Postal Union. Cases of dispute among its members are referred for arbitration by this Postal Union to a board consisting of three members. There is a permanent bureau connected with the union to provide for the execution of certain formal duties.

Is it unreasonable, then, to assume that races and nations should agree to form a union of justice? By means of, say, the Hague Conferences, races and nations could certainly agree upon the principles of law applied by such a tribunal, and the law of this tribunal would be the law of races and nations, for the reason that they would be made by and for all the races and nations.

And to preclude the possibility of a war between races and nations in the future, all nations, by mutual agreement, should disarm, and hand the control of the production of arms to the international tribunal itself. The production of engines of destruction should be made an international monopoly.

For the enforcement of its decrees, the international tribunal should have an international police force on land and sea at its disposal. For the maintenance of such a police force each nation should be subject to a levy, payable in proportion to the number of its population.

In the following pages the reader will find an exposition of the causes which have led the Lithuanians of Europe and America to embrace the principles here succinctly laid down.

## I. THE LITHUANIANS OF ANTIQUITY.

Philologists are agreed that the Lithuanian language is very closely related to the Sanskrit and the ancient Greek in vocabulary, forms and structure. But why the language of a people living along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea—far from India or Greece—should possess so much in common with the other languages of antiquity, is a problem which has baffled men of science even to this day.

In order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of this problem, it is not sufficient to have studied the Lithuanian language and its relations to the other languages of antiquity alone, as most philologists have done, but it is equally important to have something more than a superficial knowledge of the folk-lore, the customs and the traditions, and the history of the Lithuanian people as well.

In times before our present era, the Lithu-Lett family of the Indo-European race inhabited considerable territory in Asia Minor and southeastern and eastern Europe, although it was not known under a comprehensive name. The ancient Lithu-Lett people were known as Geta, Kheta, Hit or Chittim, and they came in contact with Nineveh, Babylonia, and Egypt. They formed the powerful nation of the Hittites whose inscriptions were discovered in Asia Minor by Wright, Sayce, and others. These people exerted their influence from the mountains of Taurus westward to the Aegaean Sea. Later we hear of them as the Massa-getae, the Thyssa-getae and as the Getae from along the banks of the Danube river and among whom the Roman poet Ovidius Naso spent his days of exile.

The Getae were not only warlike, but extremely religious. Lucian was a witness to their gorgeous ceremonies in the Temple of the Sun at Mabog. Their religious ideas were pictured in the bas-reliefs at Eyuk and Bohazkoei. The Amazons who were a militant caste of priestesses succeeded in spreading their religious ecstasies as far as Ephesus.

Herodotus tells us\* that there is an ethnical relationship between the Getae and the Thracians, Kappadokians, Bithy-

nians, Phrygians (Bryges), Lydians, Kaunians, Lycians, Trojans, etc. When the Getae represented an essentially pastoral race, the Thracians, inhabiting what is now known

\* The testimony of Herodotus is very important, and can, in the writer's opinion, be corroborated by the Lithuanian language. Anyone who knows the Lithuanian language can explain without difficulty the meaning of the names of numerous ancient races, people or places which are dealt with in this work; e. g. Kappadokians (kapas + doka) means the interpreters of the life after death, Geta—a herdsman, Thracian—one who lives upon cleared land, Bithynian—bee-keeper, Sarmatians (the Sauromatae of Herodotus)—the narrow-sighted (minded), Laomedon—the lion-hunter, Euxine Sea—the golden sea, Aegaean Sea—the navigable sea, etc.

Every philologist and historian must be struck by the fact that many of the names of the ancient peoples or places of Asia Minor are duplicated in the distant Lithuania of to-day—more than 2,000 years later. The writer appends here a short list of names selected at random with their modern Lithuanian equivalents:

ANCIENT	ANCIENT
Gyges	Sipyles
Kroizos	Ilion
Zipoites	Sardes
Seuthes	Ister or Inster
Boteiros	Hyllos
Lykia	Priēnē
Kaunos	Myrkinos
Lida	MODERN
	Šipyliai
Gugis	Yliuona
Kražiai, Kražys	Sartininkai
Žibaitis	Insrutē (Ystrutē)
Siautys	Gilius
Botyrius	Prienai
Lukē or Luokē	Merkinē,
Kaunas	Etc.
Lida	

as the Balkan Peninsula, were tilling the soil as they had done from time immemorial. Herodotus, Thucydides, Pliny, Strabo and other authors of antiquity mention about fifty names of tribes which, taken together, constituted the race known as the Thracian. But few of the tribes organized themselves into a state as did the Odrysae. The Dacians, struggling for their homes and liberty under the lead-

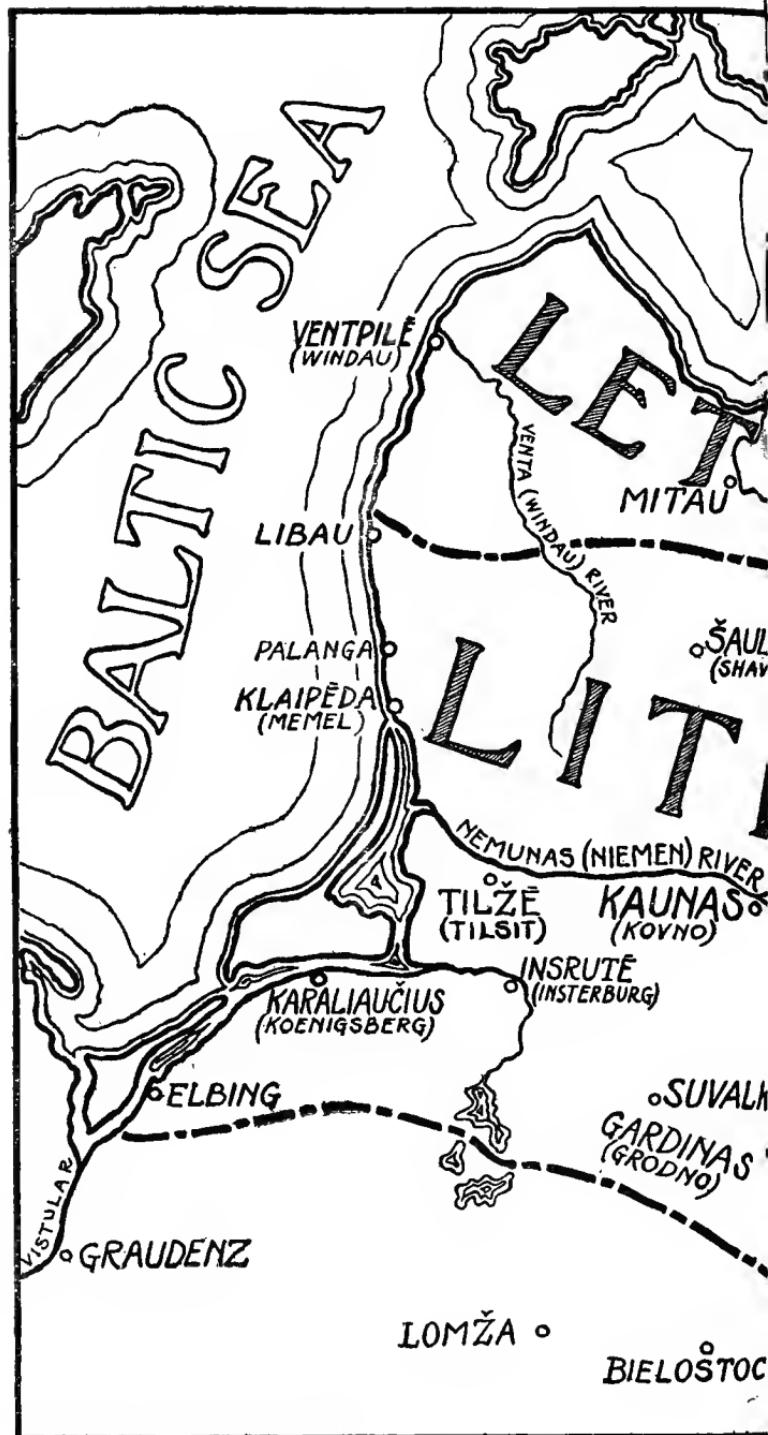
ership of Decebalus, became well known to the Romans. Other races of the same family, such as the Aisti, Gytones, Kassini (the present Polonized Kaszuby), Scyrri, Heruli, Geloni, Agathyrsae, Pagirytae, Krivicii (Krobydzoi), Getvingi (Jatviagi), Boroussi, Samogetae, Semigalli, Selii, Letgalli, etc., occupied the plains stretching from the Laba (now known as the Elbe) eastward to the river Tanais (the present Don), and from the Euxine Sea northward as far as Lake Peipus and the Baltic Sea.

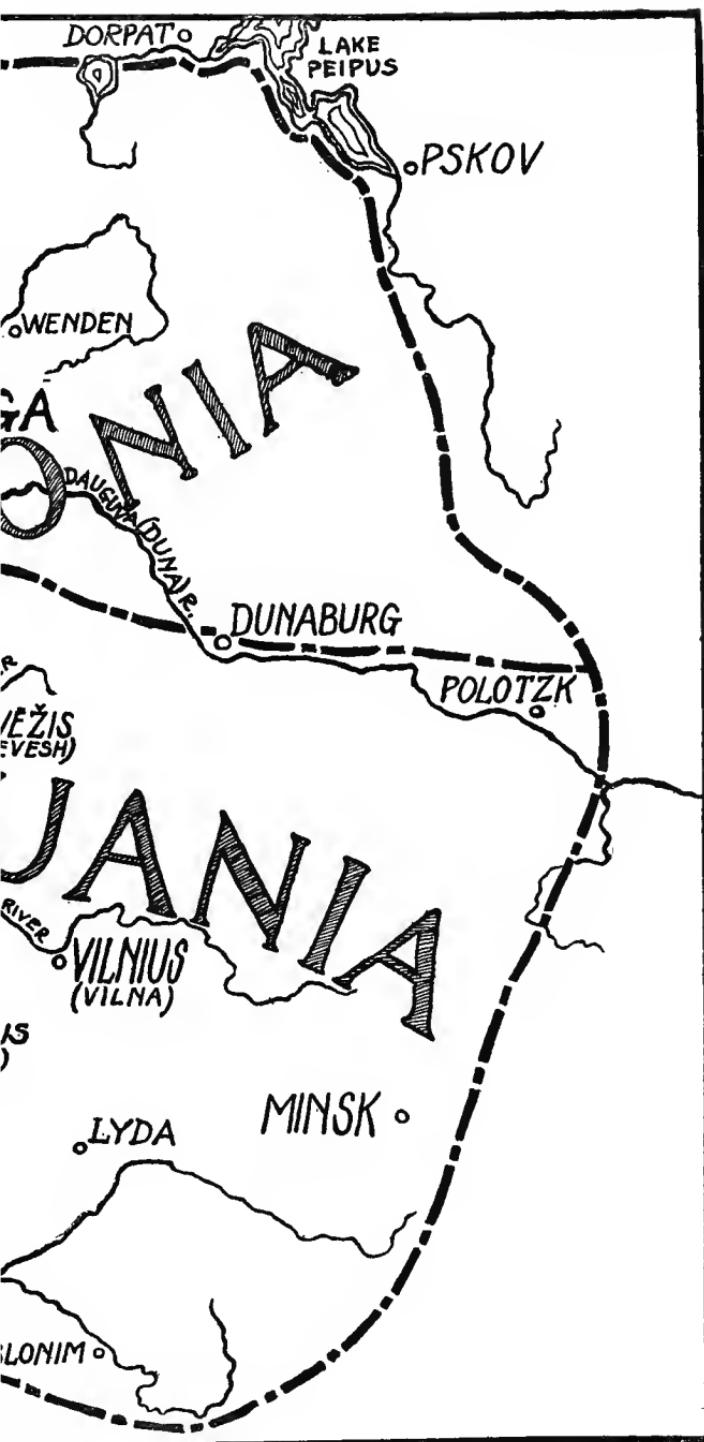
The ancient Greeks were a maritime and colonizing nation. Their earliest colonies were established on the shores of the Aegean Sea both in Europe (Byzantium, Abderos, Mesembria, etc.) and in Asia Minor (Miletus, Kyme, Adramyttion, etc.) among the friendly Lithu-Lett races, and a vigorous trade was carried on between them for centuries. Even intermarriages with the various tribes must have been not uncommon when such men like Themistocles and Thucydides were "tainted" by having some Thracian blood course through their veins. Those intimate relationships between the Greeks and the aborigines explain not only the similarities in language, but especially the influences at work in religion, poetry and music, for which the Greeks are greatly indebted to the early inhabitants of Asia Minor and that part of Europe now known as the Balkan Peninsula. Not only is Ares, the Greek god of war, supposed to have dwelt in Thrace, but types of musical instruments, mysteries, and especially, exciting ceremonies such as the Lampadophoria, were borrowed from the song-loving peoples of Asia Minor. Orpheus and Musaeus are said to have been born in Thrace, while Dionysos, Semele, and the Oracle of Dodona, etc., are undoubtedly of Lithu-Lett origin.

Some races in Asia Minor were reduced to slavery by the Persians, the kings of Pontus, the kings of Pergamus, or the successors of Alexander the Great, etc., while others lost their language and individuality by becoming Hellenized. In the times of the Apostle Paul one could still hear the old idioms spoken in Lykaonia. In Europe the Thracians came under the sway of the Romans (168 B.C.), and

in later centuries their abode was frequently preyed upon by the Goths, Sarmatians and other intruders. The Getae crossed the Danube and by joining with the Dacians formed a mighty state which was able to carry on many exhausting wars with the Roman Empire until the year 104 A.D., when their principal city, Sarmisegethusa, was stormed and the strength of the nation thereby broken. Later we find the Dacians living on both banks of the upper and central Nien-men, where they are at present known as the Dzukai, while the Getae who settled on the right bank of the lower Vistula gave birth to the celebrated race of the Boroussi or Prutteni—the Old Prussians. The Krobydzoi, who in the second century B.C., lived in the vicinity of Varna on the Black Sea, are later found in what is now White Russia, and where they eventually lost their national traits and became Russianized (VIII—X century).

In short, the great migration of nations, started from the north by the Teutonic tribes (Ostrogoths, Visigoths), and from the east by the Hunno-Slavic races, completed the work of extermination. That which remained unabsorbed by the Romans, the new invaders either annihilated or compelled to join their own forces, and we see the Lithu-Lett race gradually dwindling away to such an extent that only mere fragments remained in the confines between the Vistula, the Dnieper, and the Duna. The Bulgars and other Slavs, the Magyars, and the Germans, settled in countries previously occupied by the Lithu-Lett tribes, and having assimilated the former inhabitants, left only a reminiscence of their nationality in the names of seas (Euxine, Aegaean) ; mountains (Ida, Skombros, Balkans, Carpathians, etc.) ; rivers (Danube or Ister, Vistula, etc.) ; towns (Ilion, Priēnē, Myrkinos, Warsaw, Cracow, etc.) ; deities (Dziewanna and Dzidzielia of the Poles, Vanda, Perun or Perkun, etc.), and in the sounds *q* and *ç* in the Polish and the ancient Bulgarian languages, and in the sounds *ć* and *dż* in the Polish tongue as well as in several other characteristics of the Slavs.





## II. THE LITHU-LETTS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

In the Middle Ages we find the Lithu-Lett race surrounded by Germans in the West, by Poles and the Russian duchies in the south and east. The struggle for existence continued without cessation, and the brunt of the racial defence had to be borne by those races which came directly in contact with the invaders.

The first to feel the sting of inroads and destruction were the *Get-vingi* whom V. Kadlubek calls a branch of the Getae (*Gete dicti fuere Jaswenze*); they were a rich and warlike race, eager to die for their country, knowing that in so doing they would be glorified in their *Dainos* (Ballads). Vladimir the Saint devastated their country in 983, and, from that time on, either the Russian dukes (Jaroslav, Daniel, Lev, etc.), or the Polish rulers (Boleslav the Bold, Casimir the Righteous, etc.) committed ceaseless incursions and depredations upon them until the year 1264 when Boleslav the Bashful killed so many people that even the name of the Get-vingi disappears from history; the survivors fled into Sudavia where the Teutonic Knights utterly destroyed them in the year 1283.

Not less tragic was the fate of the *Letts* who dwelt on both banks of the Duna—the Semigallia on the left bank, the Letgallia on the right. In 1159 German merchants in company with armed men came from Bremen, and not long after followed missionaries who began the work of converting the natives to Catholicism. Eventually this led to the conquest of the Letts. Bishop Albert built the city of Riga in 1201, and immediately made it the headquarters for the Knights of the Sword. German fortresses were erected all

over Lettland, and the Knights of the Sword defeated and subjugated the inhabitants, one part of whom were exterminated by the Germans, another fled to Lithuania, while the remainder were forced to bear the yoke of a terrible economic exploitation. The final resistance of the people was broken in 1276, since which time Livland and Courland shared in the fortunes of the Knights of the Sword. A feudal system was set up, and the Letts, being mercilessly exploited by the feudal lords, grudgingly bore the yoke of their conquerors. And yet the Letts, this state of slavery notwithstanding, have survived to this day and have attained a high state of culture.

Even more horrible is the story of the *Old Prussians* whose country was divided into eleven provinces. The missionaries Adalbert of Prague, who was killed in the year 997, Bonifacius, and Bruno of Magdeburg (1009) came early, but they labored in vain for the conversion of the heathen. Christian of Oliva eventually succeeded in converting several of the nobles and was rewarded by being ordained as the bishop of the Prussians by the Pope in 1215. But the Mazovians looked upon the Prussian lands with longing eyes, and not infrequently pillaged Prussian villages. The Prussians in their turn ravaged Mazovia and killed the Catholic priests. The Pope thereupon issued a proclamation to all parts of Europe for crusades against the Prussians. These crusades were only temporary, however, and afforded but meager protection to the Poles against Prussian severity. Christian then conceived the idea of establishing an order of knights whose sole aim and end was to be the pacification and the conversion of the Prussians. Conrad of Mazovia donated a stretch of land together with the fortress Dobryn to this new organization and invited Hermann Salza to take possession of it. This is the way the Order of the Teutonic Knights was started. But it was not long before the Teutonic Knights began to erect one fortress after another (Vogelsang, Thorn, Althaus, etc.), and the Prussians soon became aware of their dangerous new enemy. The provinces of Kulm and Pomesania were

soon in their possession. Their greatest support came from the Pope who damned the Prussians and urged people in all parts of Europe to join the crusaders, assuring them that in so doing they could attain eternal life for their souls. People flocked to the assistance of the Teutonic Knights who now began to hinder even the evangelical work of Bishop Christian. Pogesania was conquered in 1237, and hunger and pestilence swept over the devastated land of the heathens. The province of Varmia, defended by Piopšys and Glottiner and their men, was the next to fall, and many new fortresses (Braunsberg, Heilsberg, Kreutzburg, Bartenstein, etc.) were erected.

The Prussians revolted. Mindovē of Lithuania and Svatopolk of Pomerania came to their assistance. But the Pope of Rome sent new armies of crusaders, while the Teutonic Knights stirred up Svatopolk's brothers Sambor and Racibor to revolt, and so the revolutionists had to sue for peace. Four bishoprics, the smallest of which was allotted to Bishop Christian who died of grief in the year 1241, were already established.

War broke out anew when the Teutonic Knights kept Svatopolk's son Mestvin as hostage. But new hordes of crusaders came along, and Natangia together with a part of Barthenia submitted to the German yoke: the Prussians had to pay tithe, erect twenty-two churches, and, in case they died childless, will their property to the Order of the Teutonic Knights. Under threat of excommunication by the Pope, Svatopolk was obliged to make peace.

Sambia was next to be conquered. Otto of Bohemia led an army of 70,000 crusaders against it; Romovē, the sacred center of paganism, fell in ruins, and in Otto's honor the fortress of Königsberg was erected in the year 1255. The submission of Nadrevia, where Duke Tirskus became a traitor to his people and voluntarily handed over the fortresses Velovē, Kapostetē, Gundava, etc., soon followed (1256). In the meantime the spirit of the crusades began to diminish, and the Pope not only made access to the ranks

of the Teutonic Knights easier, but also added to the privileges of its members.

The subjugated people complained bitterly of the heavy tribute in grain, but their leaders were treacherously incinerated at a banquet given in *their* honor. A revolt followed. Henry Montē, a brave Natangian, defeated the Knights and the crusaders at Pokarvis in the year 1262, but the Samians were routed with a loss of 3,000 men. Yet under Nalubē's leadership they laid siege to Königsberg, until, being caught unawares, they lost 5,000 men; among the slain were Glandē, Svaynis and other leading men. The Samians, overpowered, were transported to remote regions.

In Barthenia Divonē tried to exterminate the Christians, and at first was quite successful; the fortress Vystotē, Valllevona and Kreutzburg were overpowered, and the Teutonic Knights suffered a bitter defeat near Loebau. The crusaders from Bartenstein sought refuge in Elbing or Königsberg. But the Samians were defeated near Schoenwik, while the Sudavians were repulsed at Wehlau. Pope Urban, as well as his successor Clemens IV., again came to the rescue by urging a crusade. Yet Glappas stormed the fortress of Brandenburg, while Divonē and Linkas devastated the land of Kulm; but Divonē soon lost his life at the siege of the fortress Schoensee. The Teutonic Knights then formed a federation with Boleslav of Poland and Mestvin of Pomerania; Pope Gregory X. once more urged a crusade against the Prussians and increased the privileges of the Order. No wonder Linkas was soon defeated and cruelly murdered, while Henry Montē, losing 12,000 men, hid himself in the forests, where he was discovered and cruelly murdered; Glappas was captured by means of trickery and hanged. Auktumas alone remained active. The crusaders and the Teutonic Knights had converted the country into a desert: most of the men were killed, while the women and children were removed to other parts. The fortress of Marienburg was now built. Nadrevia was wiped out in the year 1276. The efforts of Stenegaudis and Soreka in Scalovia were expended in vain; some of the population escaped to Lithu-

ania, while their native soil became the abode of wild beasts.

The Sudavians offered but feeble resistance to the encroachments made upon them by the Teutonic Knights; wherever the Knights were unable to overcome them by means of the sword, they resorted to the so-called *Strutters*, who secretly set fire to dwellings or the crops in the fields. Skomant, a leader of the people, emigrated to Lithuania, but returned in the year 1284 and accepted baptism. Vadolē, another leader, fell in battle. Kantegerdis capitulated with 1,600 men. At the conclusion of several unsuccessful campaigns, Gedetis also surrendered. Skurdas made ready to leave the country, and Sudavia, a rich province heretofore, remained a desolate land for many years. The haughty Knights made the air resound with their shouts of merriment as they traversed the fields, overstrown with cemeteries, and haunted only by the cursing spirits of an extinguished nation. Even the name of the unfortunate country was stolen by the Teutons.

### III. THE RISE AND DECLINE OF LITHUANIA.

Being in danger of destruction, the Samogetians and the Lithuanians were stirred up to such an extent that they organized into a state to resist the invaders. *Ringaudas* was the first man to advocate the unification of the race, and soon not only were the Ruthenians subdued at Mohilno (1234), but the Knights of the Sword also were so thoroughly defeated (1236), that they were forced to seek for their safety in a union with the Teutonic Knights. *Mindovē* exerted his energy against the Slavs in the south, and against the Germans in the west, and, having to contend with various factions at home, he accepted Christianity and the king's crown in the year 1252. During his struggles with the Russian princes, the Teutonic Knights, and the domestic factions, the great king found his death at the hand of an assassin in the year 1263.

The sequel to this was a veritable turmoil in the land, until *Lutavaras* succeeded in establishing his claim to the throne of the Grand Dukes. The House of Lutavaras brought a period of splendor and expansion to the country. His son *Vytenis* established many fortresses and a standing army, and only by deceit were his enemies occasionally able to make incursions into the interior of the country (1301-1307). *Gedyminas*, a brother of Vytenis, not only proved himself to be a great warrior by keeping the Teutons in check, but showed himself to be a great statesman also by founding such cities as Trakai and Vilnius, and by establishing diplomatic relations with western Europe. The Lithuanian State was extended to the south almost as far as Kiev and to the east as far as Smolensk. His policies prevailed

in the great city of Novgorod, in Riga, and in Poland where his daughter, Aldona, was given in marriage to Casimir with the release of 24,000 slaves—truly one of the grandest dowries the world has ever seen. Following his death (1340), the youthful *Jaunutis* was unable to cope with the Teutonic enemies, and so the great *Olgerd* and *Kynstut* established a dual government for the benefit of the country: *Kynstut*—to fight against the Teutonic Order; *Olgerd*—against the Ruthenians and Poles. Many of the undertakings of *Kynstut*—some successful, some disastrous, as at Strava (1348) and Rudava (1370)—were truly amazing. The Teutons made several raids almost every year, leaving the country behind them a desolate waste—yet they were always held at bay by the mighty and righteous *Kynstut* who, though made prisoner several times, was each time successful in eluding his captors. Cool-headed *Olgerd* fought successfully against Pskov, Smolensk, Briansk, and even Moscow, which was obliged several times to accept *Olgerd*'s terms of peace at its very gates. The provinces of Kiev and Podolia also had to submit to Lithuanian supremacy. Prior to his death in the year 1377, *Olgerd* victoriously carried on long, strength-sapping wars with Poland for Volynia as the prize. Having acquired many Russian lands in this manner, Lithuania became a vast country.

Unfortunately for Lithuania, however, the great *Olgerd* was succeeded by the treacherous *Jagiello* who, by fiendish machinations, soon overpowered, imprisoned, and finally strangled the aged hero *Kynstut* in the fortress of Kreva. Being Grand Duke of Lithuania from 1382 to 1392, *Jagiello* did little else than persecute the adherents of *Kynstut* during this decade. But *Kynstut*'s son, *Vytautas*, escaped and found refuge with the Teutonic Order. After numerous vicissitudes and reconciliations, *Jagiello* finally married the Polish Princess *Hedvig* in 1386, promising to deliver Lithuania to Poland and to convert the country to Catholicism. The Ruthenians, being Orthodox Greeks, were naturally excluded from equal rights. The bishopric of Vilnius was instituted, and even a college for Lithuanian proselytes was

established in Prague. Vytautas was slighted by the handing over of Lithuania to the Pole Nicolas Moskorzevski, and he again had to seek safety in a flight to the Teutonic Order. In the year 1392, however, Vytautas took possession of the Grand Duchy by a display of force, whereas his two sons at the same time were poisoned at Königsberg.

Vytautas (1392-1430), being the equal of Gedyminas and Olgerdas in wisdom and in action, was soon able to pacify the whole country. But in 1399 he led an army of crusaders against the Tartars and he was utterly defeated on the river Vorskla. This defeat placed Lithuania in a precarious situation, and Vytautas was obliged to enter into a humiliating treaty with Jagiello and the Poles at Vilnius in the year 1401; even Samogetia was given over to the Teutonic Knights.

Misunderstandings with the Teutons soon loomed up. The Poles had an unsuccessful war with them, and Vytautas was drawn into it. Leading a composite army of Lithuanians, Poles, Ruthenians, Czechs and Tartars, he met the Teutons at Grunwald and Tannenberg where he routed them utterly (1410) with a slaughter of at least 50,000 of the enemy. Failing to receive adequate support Vytautas forsook the Poles with whom, however, the Teutons had to make peace at Thorn in 1411. The German *Drang nach Osten* had now been effectually halted, while the peace at Lake Meln in 1422 broke the power of the Germans.

Through the efforts of Vytautas, Samogetia was converted to Christianity in 1413, and a bishopric of seven parishes was established at Medininkai (Varniai). In the very same year, however Vytautas entered into another highly unsatisfactory treaty with Jagiello at Horodlo: Lithuania was to remain in union with Poland. In order to bring about greater uniformity among his subjects, Vytautas strove to unite the Western and the Eastern churches (1418), but he did not live long enough to see the fruits of his labor. But this was not all. He conferred great privileges upon the Jews trading in town and country; he wielded his enormous influence upon the Tartar hordes with suc-

cess, often giving them Chans, and settling many of them on the lands in Lithuania; and he established numerous cities, ports (Očakov, Odessa, Tjagin) on the Black Sea, and many fortresses which stopped the Tartars from overrunning Europe. His realm stretched from the shores of the Baltic Sea to those of the Black, and from the western Bug to the river Oka. In 1422 he commissioned Sigismund Karybut with 5,000 men to aid the Hussites in a campaign against the Poles, who were putting into practice the policy of colonizing various tracts of Lithuania for which reason the differences between the two races gradually grew in magnitude. To insure the future independence of Lithuania, Vytautas conceived the idea of becoming King of Lithuania, and he was supported in this endeavor by Sigismund, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. At Luzk, in 1429, there was a splendid gathering of the nobility and of representatives from abroad, but to the consternation of all, the Poles had intercepted the royal sceptre, and the coronation had to be postponed. Soon after Vytautas suddenly fell ill and, to the jubilation of the Poles, died in Trakai, Oct. 27, 1430, not, however, without suspicion of foul play by Jagiello.

Švytrigēla, the successor of Vytautas, immediately came into conflict with the Poles concerning the possession of Podolia. A war was imminent, but Jagiello succeeded in establishing a conspiracy whereby Švytrigēla was overthrown (1432). Švytrigēla escaped to Polotzk, while his throne was occupied by Kynstut's son, *Sigismund*, who not only swore allegiance to Jagiello, but even ceded the provinces of Volynia and Podolia to Poland. In an effort to regain the throne, Švytrigēla suffered defeat as well as desertion from his allies—the Teutonic Knights. Not long after, early in the year of 1434, Jagiello died, and Švytrigēla tried once more to regain his crown, but again he was defeated with a great loss of men; whereupon he fled to foreign countries never to regain the coveted throne. He died at Luzk in the year 1452. Sigismund was willing to harness the power of the aristocracy and to better the conditions of the peasantry. The magnates, however, being staunch adversaries to such

reforms, fomented a successful plot against the life of the Grand Duke, who fell a victim to an assassin's hand in the city of Trakai, March 20, 1440.

Contrary to the wishes of the Poles, *Andrew Casimir Jagiellon* (1440-1492) was elevated to the throne of Lithuania. A civil war ensued, and Sigismund's son, Michael, being defeated, fled for safety to Muscovy, where he was poisoned in the year 1452. When Vladislas III., King of Poland, fell in the battle of Varna, the Poles tendered Andrew Casimir an invitation to mount their throne, and to affect a union between Poland and Lithuania. The Lithuanians objected to the incorporation of Lithuania into Poland and to the alienation of Podolia and Volynia. The Diet convened very frequently to discuss the proposed union, but its efforts were expended in vain—the Lithuanians had reason to remain loyal to their cause, the more so when later the king upheld under oath the privileges of the Polish gentry. A war with the Teutonic Knights (1454-1466), in which the Lithuanians gave substantial aid to Poland, broke out, yet the Poles showed themselves to be as relentless as ever in their demand that Lithuania be merged into Poland. Peasants in the vicinity of Merkinē revolted, but were forcibly subdued (1483). In 1457 the Ruthenian nobles were the recipients of substantial grants of land, and a code of laws—*Sudebnik*—was promulgated. Lithuanian cities were given the Magdeburgian legal code in addition to numerous concessions. Not even the Jews were forgotten (1441). On account of its quarrels with Poland, however, Lithuania was not able to offer adequate protection to its southern provinces against the Tartars who made frequent raids there. The Teutonic Order becoming greatly enfeebled, Western Prussia was ceded to Poland, which thus became a power in Europe, while Lithuania was slighted. In the meantime the Muscovites had exterminated the Golden Horde of the Tartars and had proclaimed their independence (1480). In the year 1478 great Novgorod fell into the talons of the Muscovites who thereby became very dangerous to the Lithuanians among whom the Feudal Sys-

tem already bore evidences of decay. Many of the dukes left their native land and emigrated into Muscovy. Andrew Casimir separated the metropoly of Kiev from that of Moscow in an endeavor to protect his realm from the influences emanating from Moscow. Upon his demise, the union with Poland was severed and his son, Alexander, became the ruler of Lithuania, while John Olbracht was chosen to sit on the throne of the Poles.

But *Alexander* (1492-1506) proved to be an incapable monarch. Through his marital relation with the Grand Duke of Moscow the commerce between the two nations was increased, yet, when Ivan broke off commercial relations with the Hanseatic League, the trade in raw materials with Novgorod ceased altogether. The year 1498 was one of famine, and *lues venerea* was transplanted from Poland into Lithuania about this time. Some Lithuanian dukes seceded and joined Moscow, thus causing an inevitable war in which the Tartars of Mengli Girey aided the Muscovites. The enemy gained a victory at Viedroša, Smolensk and Mstislav were besieged, and Lithuania's ally Šich-Ahmed was left to his fate.

John Olbracht who, in 1496, performed the double task of depriving the cities of Poland of their right to possess landed estates and of imposing a condition of servitude upon the peasantry, died in the year 1501, whereupon Alexander was elected King of Poland.

Walter von Plettenberg, in alliance with Lithuania, successfully continued the war against Moscow, but the Poles gave Lithuania no assistance. Cessation of hostilities followed for six years from the year 1503.

The nobility received new privileges at Piotrkov in 1504, and from the year 1505 the Diet became the organ of legislation. In the meantime the Muscovites incited the Crimean Tartars to rise up in arms against the Lithuanians whose nobility took no interest in the affairs of the state and whose fortresses lay in ruins; they laid waste the country, burned down towns and villages, and plunged thousands of people into slavery. M. Glinsky alone fought valiantly

against the Tartars and succeeded in liberating 40,000 prisoners at Klezk in the year 1506.

The Grand Duke prescribed the best men—Zabrzezinski, Glebovič and Gožtovt, kept Šich-Ahmed in captivity, and, in 1495 and 1506, tried to expel the Jews from Lithuania, whereas M. Glinsky, being a favorite of his, did as he pleased.

*Sigismundus (II.) the Old (1506-1544)* now occupied the thrones of Lithuania and Poland, and at once directed his attention to the shattered condition of the finances of the country. He elevated the Jew, Abraham Ezofovicz, to the portfolio of the Minister of Finance. M. Glinsky killed Zabrzezinski, the Palatine of Trakai, and went to Moscow. Many of the magnates followed him thither. But Sigismundus was successful in a war with Moscow, and peace was finally restored.

On hearing the rumor that Alexander's widow, Helen, had died in seclusion, the Muscovites decided to declare war and to occupy Smolensk and Polotzk. Smolensk fell through bribery, and M. Glinsky, not being made its palatine, turned traitor to the Muscovites. He was apprehended, however, shackled and brought to Moscow where he died in the year 1534. At Orša the Lithuanians defeated an army of 80,000 men. In 1518 the Muscovites suffered defeat at Polotzk. Finally, in 1521, a peace for five years was agreed upon, and later this was extended for six additional years.

In 1529, Sigismundus, at the Diet of Vilnius, willed his crown to his son, Sigismundus Augustus, who thus became co-regent and who not long after was crowned King of Poland. In 1534, during the reign of Telepnev-Obolenski, and at the time when S. Bielski and J. Lacki sought refuge in Lithuania from Muscovite terrorism, a war with the Muscovites again broke out. It was in this war that the Lithuanians used gunpowder for the first time. The Poles gave the Lithuanians no assistance. In 1537 an armistice to last five years was agreed upon, and this was extended for seven additional years at its expiration.

In 1544 Sigismundus II. retired from active participa-

tion in the government with the title of **Supremus Dux Lithuaniae**. The young Sigismundus Augustus married the beautiful Barbara Radzivill, to the consternation of the Poles, who demand that he divorce the Lithuanian princess. The aged King Sigismundus II. who boasted that he could rest peacefully on the lap of any of his subjects—a boast which but few, if any, of the present-day monarchs could lay claim to—died in the year 1548. There was now no opposition in Lithuania to the marriage of the Grand Duke to Barbara Radzivill.

In the time of Sigismundus II. we meet, for the first time, the Cossacks of the Dnieper. They lived by hunting, fishing and the depredation of neighboring lands. They were often used in the wars against the Tartars whose expeditions of devastation became disagreeably frequent. The Cossack Attaman, E. Daszkevicz, attained renown as a leader.

Following the treaty of Thorn, the Teutonic Knights, being shorn of considerable power, strove to intrigue with Moscow against Lithuania and Poland. For this they were punished by John Radzivill, and a truce for four years resulted. The Germans, being busy with the Reformation, were unable to render any substantial aid. Albrecht proclaimed himself Duke of Prussia under the suzerainty of Sigismundus II. While the Order disappeared as such in Prussia, the Knights of the Sword continued to exist in Livonia. Owing to the fact that numerous German artisans and merchants lived in Lithuania and the fact that many of the inhabitants were already acquainted with the teachings of John Huss, the Reformation found easy access into the country. Even the Jews and the Ruthenians felt the throb of religious unrest. Evangelists like Knöpken, Tegetmejer, Hoffman and others soon took up their work in Livonia. The Lithuanian magnates sent their children abroad to be educated. Lithuanian translations of the literature of the Reformation began to circulate from Königsberg where St. Rapelagen and Ab. Kulva taught philology and theology at the new university (1544). Sigismun-

dus Augustus was a patron of the Reformation in the city of Vilnius where, in 1539, Ab. Kulva had established a school. Neither the censorship of the clergy, raids upon the homes of the heretics, nor the ban placed on study in foreign universities availed, for the court of Sigismundus Augustus lent a willing ear to the teachings of Luther, Melanchton, Buzer, Calvin and others.

Sigismundus II. rendered another service to the country: he assigned M. Gožtovt to incorporate the civil and the criminal laws into one book which came to be known as the Lithuanian Statute (1529). According to this code only nobles could participate in the Diet, the gentry was given civil liberty, while the peasantry was left to the mercy of the ruling class. By means of the second and the third editions of the Statute slavery and *cabbala* were stricken out and the constituents of both placed in a single category—that of subjects. The third edition of the Lithuanian Statute remained in force until the year 1840. The upper classes now began to imitate the Poles even in their speech, while the lower classes were obliged to go without any education. Only seldom was a school (such as the one in Tauragė by J. Bartašinas, or by the priest M. Lančkis in Joniškė, or like that instituted by V. Gožtovt at Trabai in 1534) erected for the benefit of the people. The inhabitants, especially those of Samogetia, continued to worship their Pagan gods as of old. The Polonization of the Lithuanians estranged them from the Ukrainians, and the Catholic clergy did its utmost to abridge the rights of the Greek Catholic Church. The Polonized magnates, together with the Polish aristocracy, began to persecute the Ukrainian nationality. Hence the Ukrainians turned their eyes eastward to Muscovy for help. Such were the fruits of the Jagiellonian policies, the most important of which was the Polonization of the Lithuanian nobility. Many Poles, especially the Polish clergy, came into the land and disseminated the Polish language, spirit and nationalism. They were none other than the clandestine enemy which proved to be the true exterminator of Lithuania. Besides, large numbers of Jews

came from Poland, and the Lithuanian townsmen, under the direction of the nobility, became Polonized or were crowded out. The Lithuanian nation was on the wane: Smolensk was lost, and no small part of Ukraina was never recovered. While the magnates grew in wealth, the gentry became stubborn and did not hesitate to disobey the government when the boundaries of the country were threatened.

*Sigismundus Augustus* (1544-1572) was the last Grand Duke of Lithuania to receive the crown of Gediminas. He was an indolent ruler, and though thrice married, he left no offspring.

In 1551 the Diet of Vilnius passed a decree calling for a standing army in regular uniform and in which only the members of the nobility could serve as officers. From the year 1553 a regular tax of sixty Lithuanian *grašiai* was levied for the maintenance of this army. A Jewish bourgeoisie arose in the cities. Foreign industry, handicraft and trade were protected. Exports in grain rose. The commerce of the country, especially of the cities Kaunas and Vilnius, showed a decided increase. But the condition of servitude grew more irksome among the peasantry. Printing establishments were opened in Vilnius, Brest, and Nesviezh, the two latter by Protestants. The number of schools was increased; public schools were established in Kaunas, Vilnius, Vitebsk and Merkinē; a school of surveying was instituted at Tykocin, while a school of law was opened in Vilnius. And at this time Mat. Stryjkovski wrote a history of Lithuania.

When Ivan IV. during the reign of Sigismundus Augustus, renewed his pretensions to Lithuanian lands, the whole Lithu-Lett race became united. In Livonia, Fürstenberg not only accepted the teachings of the Reformation, but even carried on a war against Bishop Wilhelm whom he later imprisoned. Sigismundus Augustus made ready for war and assembled an army of 100,000 men. This act frightened Fürstenberg into paying all the expenses and damages incurred. Moreover, he swore allegiance to the Grand Duke and promised to help in case of war with Mus-

covy. When D. Visnoviecki promised the aid of the Ukrainian Cossacks to the Czar of Muscovy, in case he wished to conquer Lithuanian Ukraina, the latter sought and found a pretext to declare war on Livonia, which country he laid waste in the year 1558. Through the intervention of Sigismundus Augustus, an armistice of brief duration was agreed upon. Kettler of Livonia then turned to Lithuania for aid, and, having received financial assistance from the German emperor in addition, renewed the war. Sweden occupied Estonia. The Muscovites found it expedient to raise the siege of Wenden on the approach of the Lithuanian army. But Livonia was again devastated. Then Kettler signed the *pacta subjectionis* to Sigismundus Augustus: the religion of the Protestants was to be safeguarded, the title of Duke of Courland and of Semigallia was bestowed upon Kettler, and Livonia was incorporated into Lithuania (Nov. 28, 1561). The Knights of the Sword ceased to exist. The war with Muscovy continued with indifferent success, excepting that Polotzk was taken by the Czar (1563). The Muscovites suffered a great loss at Orša. Many magnates (D. Visnoviecki, the Czerkaski brothers, And. Kurbskij, and others), forsook the Czar and fled into Lithuania. The war lasted till the year 1569. Livonia and the eastern parts of Lithuania suffered terrible devastation. People in Lithuania and in Muscovy died by the thousands from hunger and disease; it is claimed that even the bodies of the dead were used as a means of subsistence. Following an armistice, peace was concluded. Lithuania retained possession of Livonia but lost Polotzk to the Czar. Thus the Czar failed in an attempt to obtain access to the Baltic Sea. The Letts and the Lithuanians were united. But the Polonized Lithuanian nobility took no interest whatever in the revival of the Letts, while Sigismundus Augustus confirmed German rule in Lettland as laid down in *Privilegium Sigismundi Augusti*, so that Lithuania did not profit by the unification of the whole Lithu-Lett race.

The Poles insisted upon the removal of boundaries between Lithuania and Poland. They wished to open the road

leading to Lithuanian estates and offices. They did not hesitate to utilize religion and the Catholic clergy as they pleased in their efforts to fulfill their purpose.

Sigismundus Augustus favored the reformation of the church, was inclined to introduce the national language into the services, and planned a national synod; his lack of energy, however, led him to forget these necessary reforms. In his stead, Lithuania had a staunch leader of the Reformation in the person of the Palatine of the city of Vilnius Nicholas Radzivill (the Black), who built a church in Vilnius (1561), and placed it in charge of the learned And. Volan. Radzivill induced Kryškovski to come to Nesviezh, Falconius to Klezk, Vendrychovski and Czechovicz to Vilnius, etc. At his behest, the country folk flocked to the Reformed church by the thousands, so that only seven Roman Catholic priests remained in the diocese of Samogetia under the jurisdiction of Bishop Melchior Giedraitis. Calvinism was soon embraced by the families of the magnates (Kiška, Chodkiewicz, Sapiega, Voina, Pac, Oginski, etc). Only the Greek Catholics remained loyal to their old faith. Churches were soon erected or Catholic churches were transformed into Calvinistic places of worship, and a Synod was held in Vilnius in the year 1557. And Lutheranism, too, became the vogue, especially in Vilnius where John Winkler and Morščyn labored with devotion for the cause.

The Catholics strove to stem the tide by means of the Holy Inquisition, but the Papal delegate was helpless. V. Protaševič, the Catholic bishop of Vilnius, however, was an energetic worker. Stankar, Blandratha and Gonesius, in spreading heresies concerning the Holy Trinity, rendered a most welcome service for the cause of Catholicism since their labors were rewarded by the formation of a schism in the ranks of the Calvinists. Sigismundus Augustus, however, set aside the statute of Jagiello by which heretics could be deprived of office or honor (1563).

Not long after, Nicolas Radzivill Rufus became the leader of the Calvinists in Lithuania, while John Kiška of Ciechanoviec was acclaimed the leading patron of Unitar-

ianism, disseminated by the Socinus brothers in Lithuania and by Th. Kosoi in Ukraina. Quarrels between the various sects grew in pitch and frequency and synods were convened several times in an effort to allay the discord.

The Reformation brought a new life into the country. The Calvinists erected many schools, as in Vilnius, Brest, Nesviezh, Šidlava, Biržei, Kėdainei, Sluzk, etc.; the Socinians had several schools also, of which the one at Rakov attained no mean reputation. In 1570, Simon Budnis published a translation of the Bible at Nesviezh. The following religious writers are also worthy of mention: A. Volan, St. Košutski, Kr. Krainski and Bieniaš.

The Reformation rendered a patriotic service to Lithuania, and, with a continuation of its aid, its inhabitants would have undoubtedly been able to withstand the onslaughts of Polish machination. But Jesuits came to the aid of the Poles, and the waves of Polonization swamped the religious fervor. Notwithstanding the fact that, in the year 1572, Sigismundus Augustus had acknowledged equal rights to all denominations, the Jagiellon policy of Polonization proved to be the stronger.

The aristocracy of Lithuania was rich and influential. The Poles strove to sow discord among the Lithuanians. The aristocracy wielded considerable power throughout the land since they alone made up the membership of the Diet. In 1559, however, the gentry was also allowed to participate in the deliberations of the Lower House of the Diet. But the magnates, by their political education and by their wealth, were able to overwhelm the gentry. The Poles, therefore, suggested that equality was feasible only through a union with Poland, whereupon the gentry became a strong supporter of the political union. The Diet was frequently called together for the discussion and the formation of this union, without which the Poles declined to support the Lithuanians in their wars with Muscovy or the Tartars.

In the years 1564 and 1565, respectively, the gentry was granted many new privileges. But the aristocracy, fearing an immigration of Poles with the consequent occupation of

dignities and estates, was adverse to the union. Nicolas Radzivill Rufus, a leader among the aristocracy, proved to be a tireless foe of the union until his death in 1565. While such vigorous leaders as J. Chodkiewicz and Eust. Volovicz still remained, the schism between the various Protestant denominations weakened the aristocracy at home and tempered their relations with the Russian magnates abroad.

After numerous futile efforts, Sigismundus Augustus finally convened the Diet at the City of Lublin in December, 1568. The Lithuanians being unwilling to participate, held their meetings separately. At these meetings they drafted their own conditions of the union and recalled with solemn emphasis the fact that Sigismundus Augustus at his coronation had sworn not to diminish the dignity, prerogatives or the boundaries of the Lithuanian nation. The discussion of both the Poles and the Lithuanians took on a vehement character; especially so when the Poles sought to dictate not only the conditions of the union, but demanded even the incorporation of Podolia, the Ukraine, and the duchies of Kiev and Volynia into Poland. On March first, 1569, in the expectation that the Diet would be abrogated, the Lithuanians suddenly left Lublin. Since they were unwilling to go to war with the Poles, their hopes were flung to the winds. By his own authority, the king sundered Volynia and Podlasia from Lithuania and incorporated them into Poland. Furthermore, he threatened to deprive the Lithuanians of their offices and estates, if they refused to participate in the Diet. On the fifth of April, 1569, the delegates from the Lithuanian Senate arrived and told the Poles that they were not empowered to negotiate for a "brotherly" union which was to deprive them of their privileges and their lands. In an effort to intimidate the Lithuanians, the king deprived some of the dignitaries of their offices. On the twentieth of May the Volynians returned and were sworn in together with the Podlasians. On the first of June the king proclaimed the province of Braclav a part of Poland. Kiev suffered the same fate on the fifth day of the same month. In this way "the wings of Lithuania had been cut off." The

Lithuanians returned to the Diet and demanded equality with Poland, but, on the twenty-seventh of June, they knelt before the king and begged him, with tears streaming from their eyes, to preserve their good name. Catholicism and Polish policy had throttled their valor. Yet the king demanded of them by the very power of his crown that they accept the conditions of the union as laid down by the Poles, which were these:

1. Poland and Lithuania form one indivisible body.
2. Both live under one sovereign.
3. There shall be no separate coronation for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.
4. The right of the Jagiellons to succession is abrogated.
5. After the coronation, all privileges shall be sanctioned by the king.
6. Diets shall be convened in common.
7. Treaties shall be made in common.
8. Moneys shall be common and of the same denominations.
9. All tariffs between both peoples are abrogated.
10. The Poles are at liberty to settle freely in Lithuania; the Lithuanians are accorded the same privilege in Poland.
11. Lithuania's dignities and offices shall be conserved.
12. Volynia, Podlasia and Kiev belong to Poland, while "Inflanty" becomes the common property of both Lithuania and Poland.

On July first, 1569, both the Lithuanians and the Poles confirmed this union under oath, and therewith the history of independent Lithuania came to a close. Lithuania was flung open to the ambitions of the Poles. The patriotism of the aristocracy of Lithuania vanished, and petty partisanship began to prosper. Yet Poland, contrary as it may seem, did not gain in strength, but gradually began to weaken. Poland had not even the most fundamental laws for the existence of a constitutional government.

#### IV. THE HARDSHIPS OF PROTESTANTISM IN LITHUANIA.

Finding that the Catholic Church was unable to cope with the growing of heresy, Bishop Protaševič enlisted the aid of the Jesuits, who, after a secret journey, arrived safely at Vilnius where in 1570, they opened a school. The Jesuits arranged public debates, visited the homes of the gentry and the magnates under various pretexts, and, by their eloquence and elegance, were able to win over many of the dissenters. Aroused by the impending danger, Volan and others planned for a political union with the Polish Protestants.

Following the death of Sigismundus Augustus, the dissenters launched the Confederation of Warsaw for the protection of their privileges and liberties. In the reign of *Stephen Batory*, (1574-1586), while a war with Moscow was in progress, the dissenter's places of worship were set afire while their pastors were compelled to suffer many indignities at the hands of a mob made up of students and hoodlums. The king elevated the Jesuit school at Vilnius to the grade of an academy and was instrumental in the establishment of other Jesuit academies at Polotzk, Riga, Dorpat, and Grodno. Peter Skarga was successful in converting Christopher Radzivill ("the Orphan") to Catholicism. The Calvinistic pastors had to flee from Nesviezh, Klezki, Olyka, etc., and the printing establishment at Brest was confiscated. Funeral processions of the Protestants were not permitted to pass before any Catholic church, and when the dissenters paid no heed to such stupid orders, they were stoned by mobs made up of Jesuit students and rowdies. In the year 1584, Nicolas Radzivill died at Vilnius where his armed bodyguard kept the Jesuits at bay. George

Cardinal Radzivill burned heretical books in public, while, in various meetings, he endeavored to make a laughing stock of the dissenters and their leaders. The houses of Pac, Wolowicz, L. Sapiega, and Radzivill of Nesviezh had renounced Calvinism prior to the death of Stephen Batory in 1586.

*Sigimundus III.* (1587-1632), a pupil of the Jesuits who received him in Vilnius with unprecedented pomp and acclaim, conceived a plan wherewith to exterminate the dissenters. The king at once forbade the opening of the Calvinist's higher schools in Vilnius and rewarded apostates with offices and favors.

The Jesuits now began discussions with the adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church also. They attracted the youth of the Dis-Uniates into their schools, and conceived a plan to unite the Eastern and the Western Churches (1594). Dissenting bishops were excommunicated, and a most unjust persecution of the Dis-Uniates ensued. While Constantine Ostrogski established new schools and printing houses and entered into more intimate relationship with Christopher Radzivill, Palatine of Vilnius, and with Abramowicz, Palatine of Smolensk, his efforts proved futile. In an effort to escape persecution and intimidation, the gentry flocked to the standards of Catholicism by the thousands. The Dis-Uniates stirred up the Cossacks to defend Greek Orthodoxy, but their leader, Nalevaiko, was defeated and killed. An attempt to unite the Dis-Uniates and the dissenters in the year 1599 met with failure. The Calvinistic Senators who were the pillars in their church, died one after another, while their seats were given to the Catholics. The learned men who were capable of withstanding the onslaughts of Jesuit eloquence and logic, also passed away without leaving equally capable successors. Was it any wonder, then, that Janusz Radzivill joined the revolt of Zebrzydowski? But his joining this revolt furnished a pretext for the persecution of the dissenters. Because of an alleged insult to Bishop Voina, Francus di Franco had his tongue torn from his mouth and his body hacked to pieces in the year 1611. Not long after, Jesuit students attacked the Calvinistic congregation, and, applying the torch, con-

verted the church and the schoolhouse into a heap of smouldering ruins. The Jesuits justified the acts of their students in their writings. Instead of punishing the criminals, the king forbade the Calvinists to rebuilding their church, school, and the dwellings of their ministers and teachers. Since the lives of the dissenting ministers were at the mercy of the frenzied mob, made up of ruffians and Jesuit students, they began to fall off in numbers and experienced a dearth of polemic literature as well. A large number of their churches were forcibly restored to the Catholics under cover of the decree of the Tribunal dating 1588, which prohibited the alienation of church property. Janusz Radzivill, who had erected a higher grade school, died in 1620. An assault upon the Metropolitan Pociey and the assassination of Bishop Kuncevicz—retaliatory measures, both of them—failed to help the cause of the Calvinists. So the dissenters turned their attention to their internal affairs. They reprinted books, renewed their affiliations with the Calvinists of Poland, aided their exiles, and presented their grievances before the Diet, all of which proved of no avail. In 1632 Sigismundus III. died with the conviction that he had stamped heresy out of the country, whereas in truth he but compelled the dissenters to seek aid abroad.

During the interregnum which prevailed, the dissenters demanded that freedom of conscience be guaranteed and that their rights and property be restored. Bloodshed was averted with difficulty, and under pressure, concessions were affirmed—*salvis juribus Ecclesiae Romanae*—in the Electoral Diet. Moreover, the situation did not change much under *Vladislav IV* (1632-1648). The Jesuits rendered all the concessions to the dissenters null and void, and soon found a pretext to inflict a severe blow upon them. The Jesuit students accompanied an infuriated mob once more in an attack upon the Calvinistic church and its pastors. An investigation by the judiciary followed. The Catholic clergy protested loudly against sacrilege perpetrated by the Calvinists; (boys shooting arrows at birds perched on the steeple of St. Michael's Church constituted the sacrilege); they held that the accusations of the dissenters were pure fiction and

nothing else. In 1640, the Diet, basing its judgment on evidence given by nuns, decreed that the Calvinists had forfeited their right to hold services in the city of Vilnius forever. Furthermore, permission to establish schools and hospitals were withdrawn, and an order was issued to execute the pastors of the church. The pastors Labencki, Jurski, and Hartlib fled for their lives to the Elector of Brandenburg, while Christopher Radzivill, Palatine of Vilnius, on whom they had pinned their uttermost hope, died from grief.

In order to put an end to this domestic discord, and to prevent the dissenters from seeking aid abroad, King Vladislav IV invited the Lithuanian and the Polish dissenters to attend an amicable colloquy with the Catholics at Thorn. Unwilling to insult their king, the dissenters agreed to do so, not, however, with any hope of success. Indeed, the friendly conference at Thorn succeeded only in aggravating the existent tense situation between the religious denominations. The king failed also to reconcile even the Uniates and the Dis-Uniates.

In the reign of *John Casimir* (1648-1668) the dissenters at first tried to strengthen their organization at home. They restored some of their schools, and, with Minor Poland, they accepted the Sandomir Concensus. But, when the Swedes overran both Lithuania and Poland in the year 1656, Hetman Janusz Radzivill together with his cousin Boguslav Radzivill joined the ranks of King Charles Gustavus and fought against their own country. The dissenters had to seek shelter at Königsberg. The treaty of Oliva (1660) brought the Lithuanians no relief since their country remained in the hands of the Muscovites who vexed the Uniates and the dissenters in no uncertain manner. Through this war the Calvinists lost more churches than heretofore. Janusz Radzivill, the last of the dissenting senators of Lithuania, died during the siege of Tykocin. Marie Anna, his only daughter, was espoused by Boguslav Radzivill, now the Grand-regent of Eastern Prussia, under whose protection

the dissenters restored several churches and prepared a translation of the Bible into the Lithuanian language.

When John Casimir abdicated the throne in 1668, the predicament of the Calvinists was sad indeed. They were excluded from offices, both high and low; they were prosecuted before the consistories for alleged blasphemy of the Catholic saints; their ministers were not permitted to officiate at services; their dead were not infrequently exhumed and mutilated; their churches were set afire, and their dwellings were attacked and robbed. To all of which were added the additional horrors of wars with the Muscovites, the Cossacks and the Swedes, with pestilence trailing in their wake, and the survivors wallowing in the dregs of misery and destitution.

In the Diet convened for the election of a new king, the dissenters tried to secure a statute which would insure them civil equality and peace at home. When, in 1670, Boguslav Radzivill died, leaving his only daughter, Caroline Louisa, the heiress of his immense estates in Lithuania, the dissenters endeavored to renew their previous intimate relations with the Lutherans. Boguslav Radzivill was the last of the dissenting magnates of great influence. In 1682 the dissenters procured funds for the support of twelve Lithuanian students of theology at the German Academies of Königsberg, Frankfort on the Oder, and Berlin; in addition, Caroline Louisa provided scholarships at Oxford.

In 1682 the dean of the Academy of Vilnius instigated a riot against the dissenters. The Calvinists' church was raised to the ground, and even graves were mutilated; the pastors, however, escaped. The work of destruction lasted two days. The Calvinists were terror-stricken. They now strove to interest the Protestant courts abroad and succeeded in having King *John Sobieski III.* (1674-1696) appoint a commission of investigation. The Jesuits helped the criminals to escape save one—the leader—who was placed on the proscription list. Although the Calvinists were given permission to rebuild their churches and other structures, yet the Catholics now, more openly than ever before,

used force in the conversion of the populace to their faith. They added the converts and their churches to their own parishes. Caroline Louisa, the last heiress of the Calvinist Radzivils at Biržei, died in 1695.

## V. THE DECLINE AND THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND.

The ambition of *Frederick Augustus II.* of Saxony (1697-1733) was to make Poland over into a monarchy and an heirloom of his family. He therefore paid heed to what John R. Patkul had to say against the policy of Charles XII. of Sweden. At this time a civil war, which culminated with the expulsion of the Sapiega family, was raging in Lithuania, wherefore the Sapiegas supported the deposition of the Saxon king. When, in 1704, Leszczynski was proclaimed king of Poland, Frederick Augustus offered to divide Poland among his allies. Everything hinged on the success of Charles XII. But Charles was defeated at Poltava (1709), and fled to Turkey. In 1710, Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, obtained the title to the guardianship of the Dis-Uniates in Poland. The Poles demanded the withdrawal of the Saxon army from Poland, and Peter the Great made a compact with the King of Prussia in Berlin in the year 1719 wherewith he hoped to thwart the selfish plans of Frederick Augustus, to find a means of attaining better treatment of the dissenters, and to maintain the republican form of government in Poland.

Under the rule of the gentry and the clergy, the country suffered great loss in territory. Livland was ceded to Sweden, and, in 1701, the Elector of Brandenburg proclaimed himself king of Prussia, receiving the crown in Königsberg. The dim intellectual atmosphere created by the Catholic reaction veiled the origin of the existent evil. Under the leadership of the clergy and the monks, society was thrust into religious fanaticism and into the horrors of witch-

craft. The literature was pre-eminently theological, and was made up largely of panegyrics, the lives of saints and sermons. Western Europe's contributions to philosophy, astronomy and physics were unheard of in Lithuania. Men of learning did not dare to voice their views, for the country seemed as if haunted with the apparitions of the martyred heretics of days gone by. Public education—the author wonders if it existed at all! Darkness reigned supreme.

Is it any wonder, then, that the persecution of the heretics should be continued during such a state of affairs? In 1698, Calvinistic churches were burned down in Gruzdžei and Krosnogališkė. Lisiecki, the pastor at Salamiestis, was abused and then killed by Lipauskis, a priest of the Catholic Church. The churches at Gelava, Linkuva, Venusova, and Zamelis were taken away from the Calvinists, while that of Pamušis was plundered. When complaints made to the Senate of Lithuania availed nothing, the Calvinists asked the king of Prussia for protection. Some even joined the regiments of the Sapiegas, although Charles XII. displayed no compassion on them. Even the Kalmucks and the Cossacks plundered their property and assaulted their women. At Kėdainei the Carmelites erected a church and a convent in the midst of the dissenters whose protests were unheeded. The synods drafted many projects. The Senior Bythner, who died in the year 1710, and pastor Rēkutis made appeals to the court at Berlin. When, contrary to the desires of Frederick Augustus and the Saxon army, the Confederation of Tarnogrod was formed, dissenters Volkas and Estka joined them. But the condition of the dissenters remained unchanged, and the Confederates plundered their estates. Then the Calvinists eagerly supported the Czar of Russia and were confident that his guarantees were genuine. In the year 1717, however, their rights were abridged: they were prohibited from erecting new churches and even the holding of private services was denied them under penalty of fine or imprisonment. With the removal from office of their deputies to the Lithuanian Tribunal, the Calvinists had lost all their privileges. The dissenters became so despond-

ent that they decided to emigrate *en masse* to Eastern Prussia or to Muscovy. But they again came to an understanding with the Polish dissenters whereupon they presented their grievances before the Diet of Grodno in the year 1718. Thanks to the agitation carried on by Bishop Brzostowski, even this effort bore no fruit; the dissenters were not permitted to baptize, bury their dead, or marry without the consent of the Catholic priest (as at Vengrovo), while their pastors were not permitted to wear their customary garb. But the dissenters were not the sole denomination to suffer. The Catholics persecuted the Dis-Uniates, whose adherents had to waive their right of holding office. In 1722, two of the churches of the Dis-Uniates were confiscated in Pinsk.

In 1724, the dissenters presented a petition to the king and the Diet at Warsaw. In this document they enumerated the damages they had sustained and called attention to their truly wretched plight under forty-nine different headings. The Diet paid no attention to this. The Catholic church kept up its work of persecution with undiminished ardor, so, in 1725, the dissenters avenged themselves by demolishing the monastery at Thorn, wherefore the Catholics condemned the burgomaster and ten other citizens to death and demanded an indemnity of 22,000 silver coins from the town itself. Had Peter the Great not died soon after, the neighboring states would undoubtedly have gone to war as they had already begun their preparation for one. Nor did the Diet, convened at Grodno in the year 1726, alter the status of the dissenters. In 1729, the Catholics of Salamiestis, led by their priest, Gruzdys, looted the Calvinist rectory and church, and hacked the people, who strove to stop their sacrilegious work, with swords. In 1730, the Calvinist church at Lubeč was set afire while the faithful, assembled for services in a neighboring manor-house, were attacked in the following year.

Very frequently, dissenters from all over Lithuania were impeached before the clerical Tribunal (*forum compositi judicii*). It is hardly necessary to state that the verdicts were most unjust. The case of Oskierka, Castellane of

Novogrodek, became especially famous. Oskierka, himself a Catholic, married Anna Grabauskas, an adherent of the Calvinist faith. Their son was raised in the Helvetic confession. The Jesuits endeavored to get possession of the child, but his mother, scenting danger, sent him to Königsberg. For this the father was condemned by the Tribunal to lose his office, estates, and head. The son, fortunately, returned prior to the fulfillment of the execution: by renouncing Calvinism, the son saved the life of his parent. The boy later went to Berlin where he joined the Prussian service and published a pamphlet on the sufferings of his family.

But the dissenters persisted in petitioning foreign courts for intervention. In 1730, they sent Senior Jacob Gordon to England and to Berlin, but he met with no success. In the meantime Frederick Augustus died (1733). Having lost their political rights and being leveled down to the status of the lower classes, the dissenters now became a mass of malcontents who continually sought aid abroad in a vain endeavor to win back their prerogatives.

In 1733, the General Confederation interdicted the dissenters from making complaints to foreign monarchs. A tax of 60,000 silver coins were levied upon the non-Catholic clergy of Lithuania. On his being chosen King of Poland, *Augustus III.* convened the Diet of Warsaw with the idea of pacifying the contending factions; the dissenters, however, gained nothing thereby.

Emissaries were again sent to foreign courts. The envoys pastor Sartorius, Ulevičius of the Dis-Uniates, and Senior Gordon, presented to Czarina Anna at St. Petersburg, a most humble petition wherein they descanted on the previous rights of the dissenters and of which they had been so unjustly deprived, as well as the hardships from which they were at that very moment suffering. They also outlined the means by which it would be possible to restore to them their previous status. The Czarina threatened to station her armies in Lithuania and Poland until the rights of the dissenters shall have been restored, but the Diet paid

no heed to the commands emanating from foreign court circles. The Czarina did not carry out her threat.

The persecutions continued. In 1734, the pastor of Lubec was dragged before the *forum compositi judicii* for wearing his ministerial garb. The repairing of churches was prohibited by the Bishop of Vilnius. In 1739, the Bishop of Samogetia seized Protestant girls and cast them into a nunnery. From the year 1731, the pastors of the Neuburg estates were denied their income, yet they had to keep on paying their taxes just as if nothing had happened. The dissenters intrigued at the foreign courts without cessation, paying no heed whatsoever to the impending misfortunes of the country.

The country was in a state of turmoil. The gentry brandished the sabre. The Jesuits oppressed the men of arts and science. The common people, being treated like so many beasts, left the fields un-tilled. The country's commerce fell into the hands of the Jews who exploited the villagers. The magnates did their buying abroad. Everyone was looking out only for himself. No attention whatsoever was paid to the Russian armies which passed through Polish territory in 1739 on their way to meet the Turks, or to the Seven-Years' War with Austria. The bishops fumed against the order of Freemasons, prohibited the sale of heretical books, and denied any one the right to work for Jews or to be treated by Jewish physicians.

Because of the incessant persecutions of the dissenters, Russia became involved in the affairs of Courland. Duke Biron spent his time in St. Petersburg or in Siberia, until Catherine II. of Russia again installed him at Mitau. As a matter of fact, Courland was lost to Poland. Prussia and Russia agreed that henceforth a Pole shall sit upon the Polish throne but that the dissenters shall remain under the protection of both Prussia and Russia. In the meantime Poland was rent with the gamut of human passions; courage and despondency, heroism and cowardliness, impudence and shame, arrogance and ambition, credulousness and timidity, hypocrisy and cunning, loyalty and treason, virtues and

vices which dragged her to the head of the incline upon which she began her slow but certain journey downward.

When St. Konarski proposed his school reforms, an intellectual movement seemed to have sprung up in Warsaw. Th. Žebrauskas taught astronomy at the Academy at Vilnius and his observatory was equipped with newer instruments. Rev. Luskinas derided astrology. St. Leszczyński demanded freedom for the peasantry. Others advocated the starting of a home industry and expanding the commercial relations, and condemned the election of the king and the *liberum veto* of the Diet. The Czartoryskies endeavored to place the reforms on a practicable basis; they hoped, with the aid of Russia, to form a confederation and to dethrone Augustus III. But the king died in Dresden in 1763.

The Diet of Convocation was held in May, 1764, under the protection of the Russian army. Here, Hetman Branicki and Radzivill (Panie Kochanku), Palatine of Vilnius, were impeached for alleged injustices and coercion, whereupon they left the country. The power of the clergy was limited, the dignity of the king enhanced, and the *liberum veto* restrained. Through the support of Russia and Prussia, *Stanislav August Poniatowski* (1764-1795) was elected king of Poland and Lithuania. Through Repnin, Russia renewed the affairs of the dissenters. Notwithstanding the vigorous protests of the clergy and the gentry, the Diet of Warsaw restored the liberty of holding services in church and home, returned the churches which had been taken away from the dissenters, permitted burial in the cemeteries, delivered the dissenters from the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church, and freed the pastors from the imposts on their office. But the *liberum veto* was sustained.

The dissenters formed a confederation in Poland, and another, under Grabovski, in Lithuania. They then appealed to foreign court circles asking for aid in their quest for equal rights. The Catholic gentry formed a confederation to oppose the moves of the dissenters, and, at the suggestion of Repnin, the envoy of Russia, Radzivill, who had been exiled, was made Marshal of the Lithuanian Confed-

eration. Radzivill's estates and offices were restored to him. In 1767, a confederation to wrest equal rights for the dissenters from the existent powers was instituted at the city of Radom, and Russia was asked to guaranty the liberties in Poland. The Diet of Warsaw was compelled to ratify their demands. A few changes in the relations of master and serf were decided upon also: the privilege of deciding upon the life or death of the serf was taken away from the lord. Russia's guaranty was asked for in the assurance of equality of rights for the dissenters and in the granting to them of the fundamental rights (election of kings, *liberum veto*, and the prerogatives of the gentry). This guaranty took the form of a treaty between Poland and the Czarina, and could only be changed with Russia's consent.

The gentry was angered by the intervention of Russia. Heeding the exhortations of Bishop Krasinski, the gentry demanded the deposition of the king and the restoration of the previous exclusive privileges to Catholicism. Some of them even armed themselves and mobilized at Bar where they formed a confederation for the defence of Catholicism and the old liberties of the republic (1768). The dissenters and the Dis-Uniates were not admitted. In addition, a society bearing the name of the Knights of the Holy Cross was formed to defend Catholicism even at the cost of blood and life.

The king and the senators sought Repnin's assistance. The Russian army overpowered some of the confederates and dispersed the remainder. While all this was taking place, Cossacks had already begun the extermination of the Catholics in the Ukraine, beginning their work with the massacre of 20,000 people in the town of Human. But the Russians suppressed the revolt once more, and handed the guilty leaders over to Poland for punishment.

At this time other confederations in Poland came to life. S. Kossakovski, Kozello, Medekša, and others were active in Lithuania. Everywhere bands of adventurers roved about making depredations, for which reason a war between Russia and Turkey broke out. The hope of victory exalted the

spirit of the confederates. Following the recall of Repnin, the king intended to arrest Duke Volkonskij. Since the dignitaries of the confederation despised the king, they arranged for a meeting in Biala, where, in 1770, they proclaimed the deposition of Stanislav Augustus. The king again asked Russia's aid, and the Polish army, led by Branicki, marched against the confederates.

Seeing the lack of unity within the nation, foreign powers decided to partition Poland. The Czarina sent the energetic Baron Saldern to Warsaw with the demand that the confederates lay down their arms. At Lanzkorona, Suvorov defeated the stubborn confederates who were supported by France. In 1771, the confederates decided to seize the king at Warsaw. This served as a pretext for intervention by Prussia and Austria. Russia appropriated Livland, Polotzk, Vitebsk, and a part of Minsk—a total of 1,692 square miles; Austria took Osviecm and Zator with Red Russia—a total of 1,508 square miles; Prussia received Varmia and Pommerania—a total of 660 square miles. Poland lost her grain commerce and 4,000,000 of her inhabitants. All of the provinces were occupied without resistance since the inhabitants were eager to be relieved of the chaotic state of affairs. This cession of territory had to be ratified by the Diet. Of the 111 delegates to be elected, many were the recipients of money from foreign potentates, among such were Ad. Poninski and Bishop Massalski. These delegates signed the treaties. Only Turkey protested against the first partition of Poland.

In the meantime, Pope Clemens XIV. announced the cassation of the Jesuit order. The Commission of Education was established on the motion of J. Chreptovicz, and the possessions and relics of the Jesuits were handed over to this commission.

In 1775, the Diet deliberated on the new constitution. The fundamental rights were added to, but the rights of the dissenters were abridged; their participation in the Diet was limited to three delegates, one from each province. The ringing of bells in new Calvinist churches was forbidden.

Baron Stackelberg approved of all this, because the Diet was always submissive to Russia in more important matters. A Permanent Council was instituted for the government of the country. It was made up of the king, eighteen senators and a like number of representatives of the gentry. It had five distinct departments: 1. The Department of Foreign Affairs; 2. the Department of Police; 3. the Department of War; 4. the Department of Justice; and 5. the Department of the Treasury. The king's power was limited by the powers given the Permanent Council. In giving this Constitution the Diet did not forget its own members; some received high titles, others enjoyed large incomes from monopolies, stewardships or from the Jesuit estates. Thus Poninski not only paid off his debts, but soon accumulated over 3,000,000 ducats in money. Bishop Massalski frequently lost 300,000 ducats at cards. Warsaw was never so gay as it was during the sessions of this Diet.

But Branicki, Hetman Oгински, and other magnates were dissatisfied with the Permanent Council. At the same time Stackelberg and the king worked in favor of enlarging the Council's power. Ex-Chancellor Zamoyski was ordered to draft a new project of the legal code and judicial procedure. He advised the prohibition of witchcraft. So, the Diet of 1776 made some additions to the constitution which, thanks to the guaranties of the Czarina, lasted twelve years.

Some of the magnates, Hetman Branicki and Sev. Rzewuski especially, attacked the Permanent Council and the king. These attacks were symbolic of the anarchical spirit the magnates displayed toward the public order. But, even so, the government was able to work for the moral, intellectual and material elevation of the nation. The king, too, in conjunction with some of the magnates, expended no little effort in establishing libraries, museums and schools. The Commission of Education was especially active in its attempt to rid the schools of church influence—a uniform program was worked out, and lay teachers were employed. The Academies of Cracow and Vilnius were reorganized. In Vilnius the chairs of natural science, chemistry and anat-

omy were occupied by learned aliens. Teacher's seminaries were opened and a society for the preparation of elementary text-books was established. In 1783, the by-laws concerning the national system of education were prepared by G. Piramovicz and accepted by the Commission of Education. Elementary schools were established in towns and villages, and the pupils received instruction in horticulture, husbandry and hygiene as well as in arithmetic, reading and writing. The Commission kept the schools under close scrutiny. General inspectors made annual reports on the progress of the work. The Freemasons and other secret societies exerted themselves in spreading humanitarian ideas.

Improvements were made in agriculture, industry and towns began to prosper, commerce was revived and even the number of inhabitants showed an increase. Some of the landlords abolished serfdom and substituted *quintrent* in its stead. Jews were driven from the inns. But the constitution was not favorably disposed toward the cities; it annulled the German law which prevailed in the Lithuanian cities; the Department of Police, however, enhanced the cities' protection against fire, numbered their houses and improved the streets.

Fanaticism, however, did not sleep. Progressive books and papers had to be printed in secrecy. Teachers and pupils had to attend church. Ignorance was still prevalent among the gentry. Reforms were necessary if progress was to dawn. In 1778, Zamoyski, Wybicki, and other jurists had finished their reformed code of laws for villagers and townsmen; but Stackelberg refused to sanction the reforms since the Czarina had ordered him to stand by the constitution of 1775 literally. Thus her guarantee turned out to be an obstacle to domestic development.

The Czarina, involved in a war with Turkey, sent Stackelberg the conditions for a new treaty with Poland. At the time, there were three parties (the Russian, Prussian, and the Patriotic) among the Poles and the Lithuanians. All three parties stood for an increase in the army. The Great or Four-Year Diet was convened (1788-1792). All the

parties joined in a confederation and agreed that all important questions were to be decided by a majority vote—the ballots to be open or secret. This was a decided advantage for the Patriots.

Ambassador Buchholtz of Prussia proffered a defensive alliance with Prussia and at the same time warned Poland not to become involved in a war with Turkey. The members of the Diet, imagining themselves freed from the domination of Stackelberg, decided to increase the army to 100,000 men, and, despite Stackelberg's protests, rid themselves of the Department of War and reestablished the old Military Commission in its stead. When Buchholtz gave assurances that Prussia would not interfere with Poland's internal reforms the Diet, in 1789, annulled the Permanent Council which restrained the independence of the gentry, and which had done the country good service. The gentry was not adverse to taxation now, and agreed to the levying of various imposts.

A delegation from 141 towns and cities assembled in Warsaw where the so-called Black Procession demanded the rehabilitation of their old rights. In compliance with the demand of the Lithuanians, the Civil and the Military Commissions for the preservation of order in the country were established. Russia removed all her storehouses from Poland, and her transports avoided transit over Polish territory. The Diet forbade even the exportation of Polish products across the Dnieper, because the Poles had placed such implicit faith in the promises of Buchholtz's successor Lucchesini. A treaty for mutual defense was entered into with Prussia (1790), and Stackelberg was replaced by Bulgakov. The Patriots had triumphed. Russian adherents left the country. Poninski was removed from office, shorn of his titles, and imprisoned. The Diet's actions were applauded by the press whose influence had now become important. The progressives advocated succession of the throne, annulment of the liberum veto, the placing of the townspeople on an equal footing with the gentry, and reforms for the villagers and the Jews. The Patriots formed a political club. But

Austria and Prussia held a convention in Reichenbach whereby the Prusso-Polish treaty of 1790 was weakened. It was now evident to the Poles that they had to defend their country without the assistance of foreign powers. The Diet insisted on the wholeness and the independence of the country in the Cardinal Laws, and repudiated Russia's guarantees of 1768 and 1775. The elective throne became one of succession, and Frederick Augustus of Saxony was to be the next king. The palace which had been bought for Stackelberg, was taken over by the Department of the Treasury as a sign of the contempt of previous servility to Russia. The Diet then decreed that only the landed gentry could participate in the government. In 1791, many townspeople were elevated to the ranks of the nobility, towns received home rule and were liberated from the jurisdiction of the gentry. But the townspeople were not the equals of the gentry in legislative matters. The reforms made headway very slowly, because the conservatives and the Russian Party, together with Bulgakov, put many obstacles in the way. The Patriot's Club then decided to accelerate matters by "steam-roller" methods. In the Diet they hoped to pass a new constitution by acclamation and without discussion. Deputy Suchorzewski of Kalish and Bulgakov protested. On May third, 1791, the new constitution was rushed through and the king vowed under oath to stand by it as did the Senators and the Deputies. All present affixed their signatures. The Deputies and some of the Oppositionists who were absent added their signature on May fifth.

The new constitution retained the old social system with its distinctions between the gentry, the townspeople, and the serfs, although the townspeople were brought somewhat nearer to the gentry. The legislators feared a revolt of the gentry. The whole country, with the exception of the serfs, received the new constitution with enthusiasm. While it represented an improvement, it did not give equal rights to all the inhabitants. The legislators were afraid of civil war as well as a possible intervention by foreign thrones. They desired, above all, to preserve the wholeness, the entireness,

of the fatherland without injury to any one. Was it any wonder, then, that the Elector of Saxony refused to accept the crown? Within a year, the Diet had accomplished everything in the establishment of the new government and in the operation of the new order of things according to the new constitution with the exception of the organization of the Commission of Education and the code of laws, and the regulation of the Jewish affairs. Furthermore, the Diet made an effort to strengthen Poland by an intimate administrative relationship with Lithuania, i. e., by making uniform the administrative, police and the fiscal departments. Instead of a separate double commission (e. g. Police and Treasury) for both Lithuania and Poland respectively, they appointed single committees for both Lithuania and Poland together. With this, Lithuania became fully incorporated into Poland.

S. Potocki and S. Rzevuski, both of them antagonists to the idea of succession, turned to the Russian potentate Potemkin. The latter parleyed with the Turks at Jassy, and, when he died, the former two turned to Potemkin's successor, Bezborodko. For this the Diet removed them from office. They then journeyed to St. Petersburg where they were joined by Branicki. In order to overthrow the constitution it was agreed that the formation of a confederation and Russia's aid were necessary. On May eighteenth, 1792, Bulgakov handed Chreptowicz, Minister of Foreign Affairs, a statement that Russia's armies were already on Polish soil. The Diet came to an end. The country was unprepared for defense. The treasury was depleted and only 57,000 men were available for war.

Two armies invaded the country: General Kochovski, with 64,000 men, entered Ukraina, while Krcetnikov, with his 30,000, pushed on into Lithuania. The St. Petersburg Confederates and their friends, thirteen in all, announced their confederation and invoked the intervention of the Czarina at Targovica. In Ukraina, Joseph Poniatovski retreated with his 16,000 men toward Lublin. Ludwig of Würtemberg, having made up his mind to turn traitor, intentionally scattered his 15,000 men all over Lithuania. For

this he was dismissed. Joseph Judiecki, suffering defeat at Mir, retreated toward Grodno where he handed his army to Zabiella. But the latter was also defeated and forced to retire to Vengrovo. King Stanislav Augustus, deserted by Austria and Prussia, signed the Targovica Confederation, entered into parlies with the Czarina, and ordered the army to cease fighting. The privileged classes were indifferent as were the serfs who did not find it to their interest to defend the constitution. Poniatovski and 200 officers handed in their resignation. The war came to end. Nevertheless, Kochovski entered Warsaw with his army. The confederates in Lithuania and Poland compelled the gentry to join the confederation of Targovica. When the Russians occupied Vilnius, the general confederation of Lithuania proclaimed as Hetman S. Kossakovski whose brother, Bishop Jos. Kossakovski, thereupon chanted the Te Deum in the Cathedral.

The government of the country was now turned over to the "illustrious" confederation which was formed at Brest-Litovsk in September. The government was transferred to Grodno where The Diet was to convene in an extra session. The Patriots' Club was done away with and its members deprived of their political rights. All aliens were placed under the surveillance of the police. A censorship was established. The Commission of Education was censured for its activity. Public property was pillaged. The cynical Kossakovski brothers held their heads high.

In the meantime, Russia, Prussia and Austria deliberated on the partition of Poland at Luxembourg. In 1793, a Prussian army entered Great Poland and occupied Thorn, Posen, Danzig and Czenstachowo. Prussia appropriated 1,060 square miles; Russia took "Inflanty," a part of the Palatinate of Vilnius, the Palatinate of Minsk, Volynia, Kiev, Podolia, etc., a total of 4,550 square miles. There remained for Poland but 3,830 square miles of territory and 4,000,000 inhabitants. Under Sievers' pressure, the Permanent Council was restored and the Diet was convened in extra session. The Confederates and their tools who had

begged for Russia's intervention, became despondent, renounced their offices, and left the country. Adam Poninski had all his honors reconferred upon him.

The final Diet convened at Grodno in June, 1793. Sievers controlled the Diet and arrested refractory Deputies. The Diet first ratified the treaty with Russia, and, when that body refused to do likewise with the treaty with Prussia, Sievers enveloped the building with his army and artillery. A "silent session" ensued, and, since no one protested, the ratification became an accomplished fact. A new confederation—that of Grodno—was started. The Russian army now remained in Poland which country was not allowed to enter into diplomatic communication with foreign courts. The Polish army was reduced to 15,000 men. The new form of government was dominated by Sievers and was not very unlike that which prevailed under the constitution of Stackelberg in 1775.

Neither Prussia nor Russia can boast of the Diet at Grodno. It would indeed be impossible to find an analogy in the history of the whole world to the infamy, treason, lies and coercion which both governments were guilty of in these few months. It is a pleasure to note that the civilized world never gave its approval to the decisions of this Diet.

Baron Igelström now had an army of 30,000 men in Poland. The Patriots, among whom were the shoemaker J. Kilinski, and the banker, A. Kapostas, in Warsaw, and K. Prozor and F. Jelski in Lithuania, were now laying the foundations of a new revolt from which they secretly sought aid in England, Turkey and Sweden. They were afraid to disturb the social relations of the inhabitants for which reason they shunned revolutionary France. They promised under oath to restore the constitution of May third, and, if necessary, to fight for the same. They made some secret promises to the serfs, but the latter were loathe to believe in the empty phrases of the emissaries. T. Kosciuszko, a Lithuanian gentleman, was appointed leader and dictator of the revolt. He had seen service in America and had not long before distinguished himself at Dubienka. He was a sin-

cere leader and a daring soldier, but he lacked decision and determination. He trembled at the thought of the impending civil strife and greatly feared that it might turn into a revolution. He expected the devotion of the villagers, the gentry, and even the Russian sympathisers to the cause. But in this he deceived himself. He now had unlimited power over life and property—a power which had never been entrusted to any man in Lithuania or Poland previous to this time.

Madalinski, the Polish general, marched against Cracow where he defeated General Tormansov. In Cracow, on March twenty-fourth, 1794, Kosciuszko gave out a proclamation to the whole nation in which he promised to remunerate honesty and devotion to the country's cause, to punish villainy, and to run down every traitor. The landowners had to pay a progressive tax for the support of the fatherland. Leading an army composed of only 4,000 regulars and of 2,000 villagers who were armed with scythes, Kosciuszko met General Tormansov at Raclavice and gained a brilliant victory. At Chelmno, the Polish army elected Grochovski as its leader. Igelström feared that a revolution might break out. In Warsaw, on April eighteenth, 1794, the revolutionists, led by the priest Joseph Meyer, and the shoemaker, J. Kilinski, expelled the Russian army and installed the Representative Council. Mazovia joined the revolt and established a Commission for the maintenance of Order and a Criminal Court. But the king, who was an agent of the Czarina, was not disturbed in Warsaw; in fact, the Representative Council even sought his advice in national matters.

General Chlevinski expelled the Russians from Samogitia; the peasants, proclaiming their independence, fought for four months against the combined forces of the gentry and of Muscovy, until they met defeat at Meškuičei, and their leaders—seven in all—were put to death. In Vilnius Jacob Jasinski, with 300 men, disarmed the Russians and arrested Hetman Kossakovski whom the Criminal Court

sentenced to death. He was later hanged in the market-place at Vilnius.

Not long after, on May ninth, a mob, led by the priest Meyer, and K. Konopka, compelled the Criminal Court at Warsaw to condemn to death those who were in the pay of the Russian government. Among those executed were Hetman Ożarowski, Hetman Zabiella, Bishop Kossakovski and Ankvič, a member of the Permanent Council. Shouts of "Long Live the Revolution" went up following the executions.

In the meantime Kosciuszko encamped at Polanec, near Sandomir, where he squandered much precious time. Instead of attacking the retreating army by a series of quick onslaughts, he endeavored to enlarge his army. The gentry were slow in supplying recruits, and the serfs, noticing the slothfulness of the landlords, did not take up arms. For this reason Kosciuszko issued a manifesto on May seventh, giving the serfs some relief. Each serf was given personal liberty, and they were allowed to move if they had paid off their debts and capitation. The serfs who took up arms were freed from statute labor, but on their return they were to be serfs still. The consequence was that the landlords fell into a rage, while the serfs remained indifferent, so that it proved difficult for Kosciuszko to provide for whatever army he was able to muster. When a landlord gave a bushel or two of grain, he did it grudgingly and stated that a famine was staring him in the face.

Then Kosciuszko established a national council in Poland and one in Lithuania in the interests of administration and justice. Finally, he was ready to take up the offensive. Since he intended to fight only Russia, he gave strict orders to keep away from the territory of the other neighbors. At Szczekocin, the Prussians, without having declared war, sent an army to aid the Russians. Kosciuszko lost that battle as well as two generals (Vodzicki and Grochovski). Not long after, Zająćek was defeated by the Russians at Chelmno. Kosciuszko retreated to Kielce, while Zająćek withdrew with his army toward Lublin, where the Royal Commission

had indeed assembled 30,000 serfs as had been ordered. But the serfs were persuaded to disperse during the night. Thus was the spirit of the revolt betrayed and the cause of Russia espoused.

On June thirteenth, an Austrian army surged into Poland. The National Council put forth an appeal urging the people to join in a general revolt. Col. Vieniavski soon surrendered Cracow to the Prussians without even firing a shot. This was a moral blow to Kosciuszko. People began to grumble about treason in the administration and the army. But Kosciuszko allowed the suspects to retain their office and removed even a staunch patriot like Jasinski from office. In Warsaw a mob, led by K. Konopka, erected a gallows and hanged Duke Czetvertynski, Bishop Massalski and five others. Kosciuszko censured the excesses, Konopka and the priest Meyer were turned over to the Criminal Court, and 6,000 of the "wags" were arrested at night, pressed into service and sent to the front.

Kosciuszko approached Warsaw, which was threatened by the Prussians and a Russian army, led by General Fersen. Once more the mob threatened the undesirable element with the gallows. Primate Poniatovski took poison, the Targowicians were hanged in effigy, while the death sentence of Bishop Skarševski was commuted to life imprisonment. Even King Stanislav Augustus was accused of having received bribes from Russia. After a siege of two months, the enemy had to retire because K. Dąbrowski and D. Mniewski had succeeded in stirring up a revolt in Great Poland, and, after having taken some towns, they had cut off the entire transport of ammunitions destined for the Prussians on the Vistula.

Although Jasinski had defeated the Russians in three battles in Lithuania, Kosciuszko disliked his being a terrorist and gave the command first to M. Wielhorski and then to Mokronowski. But the Russians took Vilnius and were now able to attack Poland from Lithuania as a base.

New armies of the enemy were approaching from all sides. Suvorov defeated Sierakowski's division at Terespol.

Fersen cut off the road along which provisions were carried to Warsaw. On October tenth, Kosciuszko met Fersen's army at Maciejovice, but was completely routed. Kosciuszko himself, wounded and unconscious, was taken prisoner.

The situation was now a desperate one. The inhabitants of Warsaw made ready for a last stand. Suvorov was approaching Praga and incidentally he defeated the Lithuanian army led by Mokronovski. Soon Praga was stormed. Jasinski was one of her 8,000 defenders to breathe his last.

Terror-stricken Warsaw decided to capitulate. The bridge across the Vistula, which was burned down during Vavrzecki's retreat, had to be rebuilt by the inhabitants, whereupon Suvorov led his army into the city. Vavrzecki, pursued by the Russians, dismissed his army at Radoszyce. With Kosciuszko, Kilinski, Kapostas and many others, Vavrzecki was exiled to Russia. Kollatay and Zajáček became prisoners of Austria. Madalinski fell into the hands of the Prussians.

Such was the outcome of Kosciusko's revolt. The magnates had stood aloof of the General who had donned the garb of the serf. The villagers had failed to revolt *en masse* because no proclamation of equality had been given out. The gentry was unwilling to contribute voluntarily and to sacrifice its interests, Warsaw alone was sincere in its efforts to obtain liberty.

That Kosciuszko, the Lithuanian, "rose and saved the honor of the country in the hour of her peril and with it the magnificence and peace of conscience for the future generations of the Polish nation," is at present acknowledged by the Poles themselves.

King Stanislav Augustus went to Grodno where the aged Duke Repnin persuaded him to abdicate on November twenty-fourth, 1795.

Russia, Prussia and Austria now struck a bargain and Poland suffered her third partition. Russia took possession of Lithuania and Lettonia—the cities Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno, Brest and Mitau—a total of 2,183 square miles; Austria appropriated Cracow, Kielce, Radom, Lublin and

Zamose—a total of 835 square miles; Prussia's share amounted to 697 square miles of territory which lay between the Pilica, Bug and Niemen rivers, together with the city of Warsaw. Europe said not a word. Turkey alone did not approve of the destruction of Poland and Lithuania.

Catherine II. considered the Poles and the Lithuanians criminals and treated them accordingly. Thousands upon thousands groaned in Siberian wilderneses or in the prisons of St. Petersburg and Moscow.

## VI. LITHUANIA DURING THE REIGNS OF CATHERINE II. AND PAUL.

In 1796, the governments of Vilnius and Slonim were combined into one and called the Lithuanian. In 1801 this Lithuanian government was cut in twain and the names Government of Vilnius and Government of Grodno given to its component parts.

Eleven thousand people who had taken part in Kosciuszko's revolt were sent either to Siberia or to the prisoner's "battalions." Zubov, Repnin, Suvorov, Fersen, and others, received large estates upon which the villagers had to perform the statute labor—not by the farm, but according to the number of souls. Recruits had to serve in the army for a period of twenty-five years. Schools established by the Commission of Education were closed. The Lithuanian Statute remained in force, as did the national elective judiciary and assemblies, which chose the judiciary. The country was ruled by governors and Russian officials. The clergy was forbidden to have direct communication with Rome; the Jesuits remained intact and opened a novitiate at Polotzk. The Uniates were forced into the Greek Orthodox Church at the point of the bayonet or by threats of confiscation of their lands. The villagers had to pay capitation. The landed gentry increased the size of their estates by depriving the villagers of their farms. The villagers were often flogged for not working harder. The Jews were excluded from Russia Proper. A strict censorship of books was established in Lithuania.

*Czar Paul (1796-1801)* released Kosciuszko and many other prisoners. Stanislav Augustus was allowed to live in

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St. Petersburg where he died in 1798. The gentry was freed from compulsory service in the army. In Poland and in Lithuania secret societies sprang up in great abundance. For this reason about seventy people were imprisoned in Vilnius. In 1797, the priests Ciecierskis, Dąbrowski, Ziolkowski and Judicki were flogged and sentenced to hard labor in Siberia.

Paul, being afraid of freethought, in particular, not only increased the number of dioceses, but even renewed two Uniate bishoprics. He bestowed special favors upon the Jesuits who were allowed to hold chairs in the Academy at Vilnius. Even the estates of the Jesuits were about to be returned to them; but before this was done, the Russian aristocracy had strangled Czar Paul.

## VII. LITHUANIA DURING THE REIGN OF CZAR ALEXANDER I.

Alexander (1801-1825), moved by a youthful spirit of liberalism, established a college for the regulation of the Latin and the Uniate clergy. The teaching was entrusted to laymen. The organization of the school system in Lithuania was undertaken by Adam Czartoryski who, in 1803, had been made the Curator of the district. The Academy at Vilnius was reorganized and made over into a university. Here the youths of Samogetia and of Lithuania were made to drink deep of the cup filled to the brim with Polish spirit. The university did have a few good teachers, however. Among such were Jundzila and Lelevel. The institution prepared teachers and programs for schools and published text-books. Jesuit wealth was to be used for the advancement of education. While the college at Polotzk was raised to the rank of an academy, it was still the seat of *obscurantism*. Because the Jesuits were successful in converting some of the aristocracy to their faith, they incurred the wrath of the Greek Catholic Church. In 1820, they were expelled from Russia.

Lithuanian as well as Polish emigrants (Prozor, Gen. Giedraitis, etc.) established what was known as the "Polish Deputation" in Paris. M. Oginski and Gen. Rimkevicz organized regiments in Turkey. Gen. Kniazevicz joined the Polish legions in Italy. Gen. Rimkevicz fell in battle when Suvorov swept over the Cisalpine Republic. Many members of the Legions were sent by Napoleon to Hayti where they perished. From this time on, a feeling of sympathy for Alexander began to be felt, and not a few returned to their homes, especially on occasions when the Czar spoke of the

restoration of Poland. Napoleon made the very same promises, and many Poles and Lithuanians joined his army during his war with Prussia. Following the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), the Duchy of Warsaw was established and a constitution was given to the Poles; the Palatinat of Augustov was added to the duchy, and so the Lithuanians living on the left bank of the Niemen river were separated from the Lithuanians living on the right bank.

When the supplying of the army became unnecessary and the ports were closed to England, the Lithuanian gentry complained bitterly of the economic depression; moreover, many of the villagers fled across the Niemen, and the gentry were held responsible for the fugitives. Duke Lubecki was sent to St. Petersburg where the Czar, expecting a war with Napoleon, received him with great kindness. He did the same with M. Oginski, the organizer of the Legions. The Lithuanian Circle of St. Petersburg was asked to work out two projects for the organization of the country; one for the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the other for Poland. When the war of 1812 broke out, Lubecki and Vavrzecki took charge of provisioning the great Russian army, and the Czar participated in a ball held in Vilnius where he simply dazzled the Lithuanian gentry by his kindness and promises. But Napoleon arrived not long after, and the people were compelled to supply his army. The gentry's sympathies were on the side of the Czar. The serfs alone greeted the French army with hopes of liberation. Napoleon, however, did not reciprocate their confidence, and gave Lithuania a provisional government under leadership of the harsh Gen. Hogen-dorp. This new government, made up of magnates, renewed the Act of the Union of Lublin and sent it to the Polish Diet at Warsaw. Bishop Dederka, Duke Radzivill and Duke Giedraitis were among the few to join the French with their regiments of infantry and cavalry.

Napoleon left Lithuania without covering up the tracks of his army, so, when he was forced to beat a retreat from Moscow, he found the bridges over the Berezina destroyed.

While the temporary government at Vilnius had stored up provisions, there was no army stationed in Lithuania, for Napoleon distrusted the gentry. The aristocrats (K. Czartoryski, E. Sanguszko, etc.,) forsook his ranks and made overtures to the Czar. On the retreat from Moscow to Vilnius, 300,000 dead were found by the roadsides. In Vilnius the French burned their transports, and the treasury of the army fell into the hands of the Russians. The Lithuanian government fled to Cracow. The Czar gave amnesty to all excepting a few (D. Radzivill and others). Vavrzecki and Lubecki were sent to govern the Duchy of Warsaw. Lithuania, stripped of everything by both the French and the Russian armies, awaited the impending reprisals for disloyalty. Whosoever had arms in his possession or sheltered fugitive prisoners was punished by having his property confiscated or by being exiled to Siberia. Rimskij-Korsakov was lord and master of every person's life.

Czartoryski and Kosciuszko attended the Congress of Vienna in the interests of Poland and Lithuania (1815). After much strife, Russia retained Lithuania as a conquered province, and changed the Duchy of Warsaw into the Kingdom of Poland under Russian suzerainty, but permitted the kingdom to retain its parliamentary form of government. Lithuania's sole gain was the stationing of an army corps under the command of Grand Duke Constantine at Vilnius! The Palatinate of Augustovo, with its capital at Suvalkai, was once more added to Poland.

Because several magnates (Lubecki, Sulistrovski, Niemcewicz, Giżycki) were made governors, the gentry expected that Lithuania would soon be made a part of Poland. The youth of the gentry in Lithuania were fired with Polish patriotism.

But Novosilcov at St. Petersburg altered Russia's policy, and, what was still worse, Karamzin published his History of Russia wherein he contended that Lithuania, Volynia, and Podolia were countries "Russian from time immemorial and redeemed only by Catherine II." Was it to be wondered at, then, that even the mentioning of the Constitution of the

third of May in the schools was followed by investigations, expulsion, and corporal punishment?

When the Czar began to abridge the constitutional rights in Poland, the gentry of Lithuania turned its attention to the villagers. The provincial Diets of the gentry decided to send a delegation to the Czar with a request for the liberation of the serfs. The Russian magnates alone refused to sign the request. Alexander Skirmunt endeavored to extend the home industry. Count K. Brzostovski abolished serfdom from his estates and established schools, country stores, loan-shops, which lent the villagers money without security, distilleries, breweries, machine shops, glass factories, etc., all for the benefit of the villagers. Mickiewicz, in his "Ode to the Youth," expressed the sentiments of the young gentry. In "Gražyna" and "Konrad Wallenrod," the same writer reminded them of their nation's noble past. D. Poškevičius and Velenavičius wrote some excellent patriotic verse in Lithuanian and Simon Stanevičius published collections of the peasants' songs. The historians of the University of Vilnius—Lelevel, Danilevicz, Onacevicz and Jaroszevicz—disseminated far and wide the love of studying the nation's history.

The Czar feared death at the hand of an assassin. When he was informed of the tragic deaths of Kotzebue and of Duke Berry abroad, his fear became still greater. Following the year 1817, there was a rise in the influence of Arakčiejev who disliked the Poles and who was adverse to the combining of the Lithuanian government to that of Poland—a thing which the gentry of Lithuania greatly desired. Alexander decided against such a combination and left Lithuania at the mercy of Novosilcov, Baikov and Pelican.

In 1822, Lubecki presented a project of the Augustovo canal. If realized, it would have joined the Niemen, Vistula and the Venta, and could easily have been extended to the Duna. The purpose was to direct the commerce of Poland away from Danzig and Elbing, provided Prussia refused to contract a commercial agreement. In 1824, Prądzynski perfected the plan and supervised the work. In 1826, however, he was imprisoned and his laboratories were confiscated by

Gen. Malletski. The whole work was halted during the Polish insurrection. By means of this canal, the country could have had direct communication with England and other countries of Western Europe.

In 1823, the Czar issued certificates which had to be filled out for all goods imported into Russia from Poland. The Polish industry was in danger. Lithuania now had an opportunity to develop an industry in its larger and smaller centers. Two Lithuanian magnates, Lubecki and Grabovski, saved the situation for Poland to the detriment of Lithuania. The Prussian tariff of 1823 was also detrimental to Lithuania who exported her produce to Königsberg and to Memel (Klaipeda). Only the new commercial treaty of 1825 raised the prices which had previously fallen to a very low level. According to this tariff, woolen goods could not be exported from Lithuania, and a reasonable charge was made on the exportation of metals, hides and linen.

Secret societies now began to flourish all over Russia, which aimed at overthrowing the dynasty. They even had members in the army and the aristocracy. The Czar intended to abdicate, but he died shortly after at Taganrog from poison.

## VIII. LITHUANIA DURING THE REIGN OF CZAR NICOLAS I.

On the very day that Nicolas I. (1825-1854) ascended the throne, the conspirators known as the Dekabrists revolted under the leadership of K. Rylejev, a pronounced democrat; but their regiments were overpowered, their dead thrust under the ice of the Neva, and their leaders exterminated. Many aristocratic families were involved in the trial of the Dekabrists, especially after the Polish Duke Jablonovski had volunteered to tell all he knew. Arrests followed in Warsaw, Kiev, Vilnius, and even in Lvov and Thorn.

From that time on, Nicolas was obsessed with the idea of insecurity and hoped to avert every danger by relentless

repressions. His was a crushing tyranny. He endeavored to keep the people away from revolution and unbelief, and his hate of liberalism grew into a mania. In order to divert attention from internal weakness and disorder, he, like all despots, discovered pretexts for wars, first with Turkey, whereby Serbia and Greece gained their independence, and then with Persia. In 1830, when in Warsaw, he crowned himself King of Poland. Students and cadets would have shot the Czar had it not been for the counsels of the aged Lithuanian gentleman Niemcevicz, who persuaded the youth to reconsider their step.

In 1830 the revolutionists expelled King Charles X. from France, and Belgium broke away from Holland. Since Nicolas considered himself the guardian of Europe, he made ready to go to war against France. The Poles then prepared an insurrection at home because the Czar paid little heed to their constitution and abridged their rights. The insurrectionists appointed Gen. Chlopicki commander in chief. On November twenty-ninth, 1830, Grand Duke Constantine, who had flogged the Polish students, was expelled from Warsaw. The Poles demanded that their constitution be guaranteed and that Lithuania and the Ukraine be joined to Poland. The Russian government replied with a demand of submission. War ensued. But Chlopicki, after a parleying with the Czar, resigned his dictatorship, and the Diet appointed M. Radzivill as his successor. In the meantime, Field-marshal Diebich overran the whole of Lithuania with his forces and thus restrained the Lithuanian army corps from joining the insurrectionists. On January twenty-fifth, 1831, the Diet dethroned Nicolas. After defeating the Russians at Stoczek and at Grochovo, the morale of the Polish army improved. But the second battle at Grochovo proved indecisive. Since the gentry were confident in their ability of defeating the Russians without the aid of the serfs, the Diet refused to recognize the rights of the villagers to property and did not release them from the execution of statute labor. The insurrection in Volynia, stirred up by Czacki, Olizar and Worcell, was a total failure. Diebich received

reinforcements early in the spring, but his subordinates, Geismar and Rosen, were defeated.

Grand Duke Michael was approaching Diebich's army with which he joined forces at Nadbory, and together they defeated Skrzynecki at Ostrolenka where the Poles lost 270 officers and 8,000 men. Not long after, Diebich and Grand Duke Constantine died of cholera.

Although a state of war existed in Lithuania and the inhabitants were terror-stricken, a revolt was started by the Samogetians. Later, peasants from the district of Ašmenė joined the struggle, and soon the whole of Lithuania was burning with the spirit of insurrection. Matusevicz occupied Trakai. Przezdziecki took Ašmenė which was later retaken by the Russians who slaughtered old men and women and children who sought shelter in a church. Bilevicz defeated Gen. Bezobrazov near Vilnius. Emilia Plater and Maria Rašanovič directed the movements of the insurrectionists in the vicinity of Dunaburg.

The Polish government made a grave mistake in its appeal of May thirteenth to the generosity of the gentry of Lithuania, instead of proclaiming the emancipation of the serfs. Gen. Chłopicki was sent to encourage the revolt which was brewing in Lithuania. Following the battle of Ostrolenka the Polish forces joined at Kėdainei, and A. Gelgud and Dembinski came to Lithuania. But Gelgud was beaten at Vilnius. Chłopicki crossed the Prussian frontier and was disarmed. Gelgud, suspected of treason, was shot by one of his own officers. Dembinski alone, without money and ammunition, turned back at Poneviezh with 3,500 men and arrived safely in Warsaw.

Field-marshal Paškevič, profiting by the inactivity of Skrzynecki, now marched on Warsaw where riots broke out and 300 people were put to death because of alleged treason. The National Counsel appointed Prądzynski Commander in Chief. But Warsaw fell on September eighth. The leaders were sent to Siberia, while the people were impressed into the army or committed to serfdom. The Polish constitution was annulled, and Poland made a part of Russia. Lithuania was

doomed to suffer Russianization. In 1832 the University of Vilnius was closed, and Russian was made the official language of the country. The Russian Code supplanted the Lithuanian Statute. An academy for the Roman Catholic clergy was started in Vilnius, but this was transferred to St. Petersburg in 1842.

The villagers were turned into slaves, and the relations between master and slave were never more brutal than in the days of Nicolas I. The gentry who were not enrolled in the Book of Heraldry before October the sixteenth, 1831, automatically were barred from the ranks of the nobility. Some 45,000 families of the gentry were sent to Caucasus and turned into Cossacks by compulsion. Graft prevailed everywhere. The term Western Provinces of Russia was everywhere substituted for the term Lithuania in official documents. A catechism printed in 1832 for use in schools, taught the children that Russia was their fatherland and that "reverence, obedience, loyalty, tribute, service, good-will and prayer to God" be offered to the Czar of the Russias. An intricate system of espionage was evolved. Schools were closed—out of 394 only 92 remained; corporal punishment and espionage flourished. Whoever spoke Polish in the common lodgings of the students, was flogged. M. Volovicz, who returned from abroad and urged the villagers to revolt, died heroically on the gallows at Grodno in 1833. Simon Konarski was very active in the interests of the serfs and enjoyed a large following among the women and students of the gentry. He established many secret revolutionary groups in Lithuania with headquarters at Vilnius. Revolutionary societies prevailed even in the army. Eventually the leaders were apprehended. Konarski was first terribly tortured and then shot in the city of Vilnius on February twenty-seventh, 1839. Novicki, Brynk, Rodzevicz and many others were exiled to Siberia or Caucasus. Over 200 officers of Gen. Geismar's army corps were arrested and cast into subterranean dungeons. In 1839 the townsfolk and the villagers were prohibited from wearing the Polish costume under penalty of being flogged, whereas anyone who donned the Russian costume received a gift of one ruble.

The work of the Democrats in Lithuania and in White Russia was facilitated and made more effective through the government's policy of persecuting the Uniates and other religious denominations—a policy which roused the common people. In Žurovice, in the government of Grodno, Bishop Joseph Siemaško gradually introduced the Greek Orthodox services. Priests who objected to the innovation were sent away, while the people who rioted were calmed by the lash. Aged men and women were ready to die for their faith. In 1839, an Act combining the Greek Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches was announced at Polotzk, and upwards of 2,500,000 people were compelled to join the Orthodox church in fear of being lashed by the Cossacks and the police. Many reluctant villagers—women as well as men—were flogged to death.

Protestants also suffered from the whims of Greek Orthodoxy. The Bible Society of Vilnius, founded in 1812, was abolished in 1828. A promise of land to the peasants of the Baltic Provinces lured thousands of Letts and Esthonians into the Church of Russia. As soon as the peasants became aware of the deceit, however, their religious fervor quickly vanished and they lent a willing ear to voices emanating from the cradle of Socialism.

In 1832 all the monasteries in the government of Kaunas were closed and most of the churches were turned into houses of worship for the Orthodox Russians. In 1842, the government confiscated the property—estates and moneys—of the church and clergy of Lithuania, a confiscation which amounted to 171,845,000 rubles.

From the year 1827, the children of peasants were barred from higher institutions of learning. For this reason many of the peasants changed their names to make them sound like those of the gentry, e. g., Senkus became Sienkiewicz, Jonkus became Jankovski. Some even endeavored to buy themselves into the ranks of the gentry. Many taught their children reading and writing at home. From 1837 peasants were denied admission into clerical seminaries; this decision was rescinded later, however, but only where the consent of

the landlords and the governor was given, could a peasant enter such an institution. The Lithuanian Library and Museum at Vilnius were plundered, and all precious books and manuscripts were taken to St. Petersburg and Moscow.

By means of its industrial and commercial policies, the government strove to create a new and wealthy class which would be grateful for its state of well-being and hence utterly averse to any revolutionary movement. For this reason Russian capitalists were attracted to the provinces of the Northwestern Territory and given special privileges under the Act of 1841. The gentry, on the other hand, were transported to Caucasus and Cherson by thousands—an effort by means of which it was hoped to eradicate the Polish element. But even the Russians were unable to compete with the Jews who got control of the local trade and industry. The Jews were prohibited from wearing their customary garments, their peyzahs were pulled out, their spiritual books were revised by the censors, and their uncensored books confiscated. The Act of 1843 demanded that the Jews serve in the army instead of paying the Recruit's Tax as had been the case before. The local element were cast out of the higher offices. The centralization policy of the Russian bureaucracy began to be felt in evergrowing circles. In 1843, the government of Kaunas was instituted. P. J. Preiss, in his letters from Königsberg to the Minister of Instruction, in 1840, demanded that experts in Slavic philology be directed to study the Lithuanian language; he endeavored to show that the Lithuanians were members of the Greek Orthodox Church prior to the arrival of the Germans into the Baltic Provinces and mentioned the necessity of compiling an historical dictionary of the localities inhabited by the Slavs and Lithuanians in common. Like Karamzin, Preiss was a master at presenting falsified accounts of the history of the Lithuanian nation.

It is not astonishing, then, that the country fell into a torpor; the mucky intellectual atmosphere had devitalized the old gentry. The younger and more progressive people were sent to the Caucasus to fight against Shamyl and to subju-

gate the races of that region. From the times of Konarski, the agitation carried on among the villagers gave the government no rest, so, in 1842, Nicholas I permitted the landed proprietors to enter into contracts with their serfs. In this way the so-called obligatory peasantry was created. But the serfs looked upon this new condition as liberation from bondage, and a series of riots and insurrections followed. In 1844, commissions were appointed to take the inventory of the estates of the gentry. Whenever the peasantry, craving liberty, started riots, they were either flogged to death or sent in groups to Siberia. The propaganda of the Democrats caused the government much anxiety—it anticipated a general political propaganda on a huge scale. Any one who had in his possession literature of liberal tendencies was in constant peril of search by the gendarmerie. The students were placed under special surveillance. The gymnasiums at Seinai, Lukovo and Kielce were closed. The uncovering of Rev. Sciegienny's Conspiracy near Kielce in particular struck terror into the heart of the government at St. Petersburg (1844). Rev. Sciegienny advocated the establishment of a republic in which the clergy and the villagers were to be the ruling element. For this he was sentenced to hard labor in the quarries of Nerchinsk, where he organized a secret commune among the exiles. The villagers were flogged and clubbed. Needless to say, the number of victims was very great.

The effect of the abolition of the Republic of Cracow was felt in Lithuania also; John Röhr was bastinaded with 1,500 strokes, Dr. Renier, Boguslavski and others were adorned with foul inscriptions and paraded by the soldiers through the streets of Vilnius, and then sent to Siberia.

In 1847, whole villages of peasants from the government of Vitebsk started westward with all their belongings. The army, however, flogged them back to their homes. By this time the Czar realized that something had to be done for the peasants, compulsory labor was shortened to 150 days in the year, peasants were granted the legal ownership of their

land, and gratuitous labor for landed proprietors was abolished. But personal liberty was not acknowledged.

The Magyar revolution of 1848 was but another conflagration which threatened to spread into the dominions of the Czar, who hastened to assist the Emperor of Austria "against the common foe." Conspirators in Warsaw and Vilnius were eagerly awaiting the outcome of this rebellion, which, unfortunately, came to an unsuccessful conclusion when Görgöi laid down his arms at Vilagos. And when the Revolution in Berlin broke out the National Committee of Poland intended to send an army corps into Lithuania and Samogetia; but Mieroslavski was unwilling to carry on a partisan war, the Polish gentry feared a repetition of the "Galician carnage," and the peasants of Lithuania laid down their arms, together with their leader Ancyp. Thanks to the efforts of Pastor Gisevius and Mrongovius, the ideas of democracy reached Varmia and Eastern Prussia also; but the spirit of nationalism was soon throttled by the endeavors of Pangermanic patriots. The patriots of Poland dreamed now not only of the federation of Poland, Lithuania and Russia, but of all the Slav races. They hoped to attain a federation with a central government for common weal, yet each race was to have equal rights and independence; and each race was to have its own autonomous government. The United States of America was taken as an example. The Poles had many followers in Lithuania, especially among the students and the younger gentry. From 1850 to 1854 the police made many arrests. The Russian government sentenced hundreds to be bastinaded and exiled to Nerchinsk. In Vilnius, the students of the gymnasium were flogged publicly in the market-place, and then impressed into the army. The requirements for entrance into the schools were made more difficult, and many books which previously had been approved by the censors were removed from the shelves of the libraries. Writers who advocated the abolition of serfdom were especially persecuted.

In the winter of 1854, while the Crimean War was still in progress, Czar Nicolas I. committed suicide by drinking poison.

## IX. LITHUANIA DURING THE REIGN OF CZAR ALEXANDER II.

The reign of Alexander II. (1854-1881) was a period devoted to the consideration of various projects of reform. It was necessary to release the serfs from their condition of servitude. In the times of Nicolas I. there were 556 revolts and the assassination of 144 landed proprietors occurred in the last twenty years of his reign. In an address given to the gentry in Moscow in 1858, Alexander II. stated that this reform must come from *above*, or else it would be realized from below. The novelist Jos. Ig. Kraševski and the poet L. Kondratovič directed the attention of the gentry to national interests. In 1857, when the gentry of Lithuania demanded the abolition of servitude, the Czar ordered the appointment of commissions, which were to work for the realization of this demand. The adherents of the idea of democracy carried on a spirited propaganda, and the Czar, in his Ukase of March third, 1861, hastily proclaimed the abolition of serfdom. In this Ukase he promised much and gave little. The peasants of Lithuania became owners of their land after forty-nine years' payment of ground rent. In 1862, privileged jurisdiction was abolished, trial by jury for criminal cases was instituted, and, half a year later, corporal punishment was done away with. But Lithuania, unlike Russia, did not receive the *Zemstvo*—a species of local civil administration.

The Polish revolution of 1863 interfered with the normal progress of reform in Russia. The agitators desired that the peasantry renounce obedience to the clergy and the gentry. Revolutionary demonstrations were begun in the churches of Poland. Russia had entered into a convention with Prus-

sia in 1858, and was thus secure so far as her western neighbor was concerned; yet the Czar cautioned the Poles "*point des reveries!*" before he committed the leaders of the excesses to prison. While the Poles had great faith in Napoleon III., they sent Zamoyski on a mission concerning Poland's autonomy to St. Petersburg. Constantine was made Vice-roy, and the aged Wielopolski was to be his counsellor. Herzen supported Poland's cause warmly. France now demanded that the independence of Poland be recognized. During the conscription, Wielopolski enrolled the dangerous youth into the army. A revolt followed. Nazimov, the Governor-General of Lithuania, had two divisions of cavalry and one of infantry at his disposal, and soon after another division of infantry was added to his forces. The troops were concentrated in the towns. Many officers, however, deserted the army and went into the forests, where they, together with the clergy, who were awaiting them, organized the army of the insurrectionists. The organization of this army was facilitated by the fact that the civil offices of the country were held by Poles and Lithuanians. The Red and the White parties were united. The peasants were promised perpetual grants of land, free from taxation, provided they joined in the uprising. The unfaithful were imprisoned or made to suffer in some other way. On May tenth, 1863, the Polish National government granted the peasants the right to own land, and proclaimed the independence of Poland, Lithuania and Ukraina, with equality for all before the law, and with full liberty for each to develop its nationality and language. Lithuania and Ukraina were to be the equals of Poland.

The rebels occupied the villages and forests and had established an extensive organization. When Plater captured a transport of arms in the vicinity of Dunaburg, Muravyov (the "Hangman") was appointed dictator of Lithuania. He divided the country into military districts. In Vilnius, the owners of property and the clergy were made responsible for those who fled to join the ranks of the rebels. Not long after, two priests—Išora and Ziemacki—were shot. Bishop Krasinski was sent to Viatka, where he was kept under strict sur-

veillance. The jails were filled with rebels. Capt. Sierakowski and Kolysko were hanged. Commissions of information and investigation were established in every district. In the villages an armed guard of the peasantry was established to assist the Russian army in exterminating the rebels. Everywhere Muravyov posed as the protector of the peasantry against the gentry and the clergy. Many Lithuanian officials were either exiled or jailed, e. g., Lappo of Minsk was sent to Perm, Starzenski of Grodno was court-martialed and exiled to the fortress of Bobruisk.

The Lithuanian peasantry, with but few exceptions, remained loyal to Russia. Hence Muravyov temporarily permitted the teaching of the Lithuanian language in the schools and even promised to publish a newspaper, entitled the "People's Friend."

Small bands of the rebels terrorized the inhabitants. The so-called "hangman-gendarmes" attained considerable notoriety. Muravyov ordered them to be shot on the spot if captured. Secret agents came to Vilnius from Warsaw to murder Muravyov and Domeyko, the latter having signed a petition to the government begging for clemency. Most of these conspirators were apprehended and hanged. Bishop Valančaukas aided Muravyov by entreating the people to lay down their arms, and many leaders (Bitis, Puidokas, Rev. Dembskis and others) of the bands left the country. Rev. Mackievicz, a staunch and energetic insurrectionist, was hanged in the city of Kaunas. The revolt soon died down in Minsk, Grodno and Augustovo, and by the end of 1863 it was over. Const. Kalinovski, the chief organizer of the revolt in Lithuania, was hanged in Vilnius on March second, 1864.

Muravyov imported Russians to fill all of the offices. He erected Greek Orthodox churches and Russian schools. Separate courts of justice were established for peasants and for the gentry, and the latter had to pay a heavy indemnity. Following the pacification of the country, the martial court and the commissions of investigation were retained. Muravyov

exterminated at least 9,000 people and exiled many, many thousands to Siberia.

In order to get a firmer grip on the clergy, Muravyov ordered the abolition of the Temperance Society, the Vincentine Society of Charity, the Society of Charity for the Poor, and all the organizations of the Sisters of Mercy. The Greek Orthodox clergy were given an increase in pay, thirty Roman Catholic Monasteries were closed, the erection of Roman Catholic churches was rarely permitted, the Russian language was made obligatory in schools and offices of administration, and any manifestation of the Polish spirit was summarily put down. The organization of the peasants into communes having been accomplished, the Russians felt certain that Lithuania had become a thoroughly Russian country.

The Lithuanian peasantry, which, according to Muravyov himself, had helped the Russian government to put down the rebellion, was terribly crushed. When the Russian element had grown somewhat stronger, Muravyov prohibited the printing of Lithuanian books and papers in the Latin alphabet and appropriated 25,000 rubles for the printing of elementary and prayer-books in the Lithuanian language, but in the "grazhdanka," or Russian alphabet. No doubt he thought this a fine stroke in the policy of Russianizing the Lithuanians. The peasants, thought Muravyov, lacking leaders and a press, and shorn of their hopes for a better future, will soon discard their nationality. Muravyov, in his Memoirs, does not even mention the word Lithuanians. He said, in substance, that Lithuania had been Russian from times beyond recall, that the Lithuanians were to be metamorphosed by the "real" Russian culture, and not by the "rotten" culture of the West. The essence of this "real" culture was the augmentation of the Russian element and the weakening of the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1865, Adj.-Gen. Kaufman, Muravyov's successor, prohibited "persons of Polish extraction" from acquiring estates in the "Western Provinces of Russia," and the Czar deemed it necessary to Russianize the whole country. Books

printed prior to 1864 were not to be sold or imported from abroad, and it goes without saying that the Minister of the Interior sanctioned this unreasonable prohibition.

Following the Polish Insurrection, the spirit of the Russian nation became one of retrogression. The party of Katkov came into pre-eminence and Samarin with his friends subjected the Baltic Provinces to the most criminal treatment. Even the Greek Orthodox Church became more aggressive and militant. The Russophiles, Tupalski, Nemekša, and Žilinski had great influence on the government in the city of Vilnius. Kaufman and Famincyn elevated Žilinski to the office of administrator of the diocese. Special commissions translated prayer-books, rituals and other religious works into the Russian. Nemekša pointed out the necessity of introducing the Russian language into the church services, and Rev. Kaminski had the audacity to preach in Russian at the church in Švenčionai. In the days of the revolt, and after, Žilinski denounced many of the priests to the government, and not a few of them had to spend the remainder of their lives in the wilds of Siberia. In 1866, Linkinas, a priest who had been instrumental in the closing of the church at Dukštai, became a member of the chapter at Vilnius. In 1870, when the Russian "trebnik," or ritual, had been distributed among the clergy by the "chapter of Muravyov," Rev. St. Petravičia of Vilnius consigned 143 copies thereof to the flames and issued a circular letter wherein he denounced the Russophilism and the treasonable acts of Žilinski in no uncertain terms. While in the act of preaching a sermon in his church, Rev. Petravičia burned up the instructions and the ritual of Žilinski. For this he was court-martialed and deported to the northern wastes of Kola. The teaching of the Russian language, history and literature were made compulsory in clerical seminaries.

The conservatives had the upper hand in Russia. Numerous were the attempts to assassinate the Czar. Following the war with Turkey, the Czar, unable to stop the spread of Nihilism, summoned the progressive party (Valuyev, Loris Melikov and Šuvalov were its representatives) to take

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hold of the reins of the government. The Zemstvos and cities received home rule after a fashion. A representation of the wealthy land owners in the government was even contemplated. But on March thirteenth, 1881, the Czar fell a victim of the Nihilists—Ignatius Gryneviackas killed the Czar and himself with a bomb.

Endless misery and distress dwarfed the people of Lithuania in stature and in mind. About one-half of the young men of the country were unfit for military service through the diminution in stature. They began to emigrate *en masse* to England, South Africa, Argentina and the United States. The abolition of serfdom proved a boon for the bourgeoisie. The towns and cities were filled to overflowing by the proletariat who suffered greatly from being exploited by the greedy bourgeoisie.

## X. FOUR DECADES OF CONTENTION AND SUFFERING.

### *The Reigns of Alexander III. and Nicolas II.*

The Russian government never hinted at what it really meant by the phrase "persons of Polish extraction"; sometimes it meant nationality, sometimes religion, and, when found expedient by the government, it was construed to mean social rank or class. Now the rights of the class to which the Lithuanians were ascribed were persistently and systematically abridged. From the year 1864 the constituents of this class were debarred from holding office. In 1894, Krivošein, Minister of Communications, sent out a secret circular which prohibited the employment of these people in the railroad service and the leasing of restaurants to them. Men were brought from Russia to take the places of the Lithuanians, who were ousted from office. The slightest indication of disrespect for a Russian Orthodox priest or an ordinary officer was considered a sign of disloyalty toward the Russian government. Private meetings held without the knowledge of the police, or the singing of prohibited songs and hymns, was considered grossly criminal and made punishable by a fine of from 100 to 500 rubles. The use of the Lithuanian or the Polish language in official circles or on official documents, or the use of the national or any other emblem on buildings, clothes, harness, etc., was also punishable by a fine. From the year 1889, illuminations, the decoration of buildings with flowers and flags, and other manifestations of festivity were not permitted. Land could be bought only with the consent of the governor, and could not be rented for a term exceeding twelve years. In 1886, all grants for the purchase of land in the northwestern provinces of Russia had to be re-

newed and approved by the governor. From 1870 to 1885 villagers of the Roman Catholic faith were permitted to buy only as much land as a family was able to work without the assistance of hired laborers. Anyone suspected of having taken part in ovations given visiting bishops could not get a permit to buy land. In 1892, whole parishes (Sledzianovo and Geraniunai) in the government of Grodno forfeited their right to acquire land by having offered resistance to the police when their churches were closed by the government. The motives for such acts of stupidity are to be found in the diary of the Committee of Ministers, dated 1884: To induce people from Russia to settle in Lithuania, and to thus establish there a class of land owners loyal to Russia. Russians received all manner of advantages when estates were sold at auction or by private contract for the same reason. The consequence of all this was a great economic depression and indigence among the villagers.

The basic laws of Russia guaranty religious freedom to all the inhabitants. The status of the Catholic Lithuanians, however, shows that this was and is by no means the case. The administration used various means of repression against the clergy, because it considered the latter to be the disseminator of Polish ideas, and accorded unfair treatment to the villagers, who did not participate in the revolt. From 1864 to 1878 crosses could be erected only in the cemeteries, although the Lithuanians had a custom of erecting them in the fields, villages and by the roadside. Moreover, it was specified that the crosses were to be wooden; for the erection of a monument made of stone or metal the owner was fined or forcibly made to remove same. From the year 1866 Catholic processions were not allowed to be held outside the church-yard, and only a certain number of even these church-yard processions could be held. Priests who disobeyed this demand were fined from 10 to 100 rubles. Such rulings increased the casualties resulting from the overcrowding of churches whenever these processions were held. It was necessary to get the consent of the Minister of the Interior, if the people desired to build a new church, and from 1881 only

the governor-general could issue a permit for the repair of a church or altar. From 1884 the bishops were permitted to make visits in their own dioceses only with the permission of the governor-general; and when they made these visits, the gendarmerie followed their every step, their every utterance and gesture. From 1881 the clergy were fined from one to five hundred rubles if they held services in neighboring parishes without the consent of the civil powers; they were liable to the same punishment for the preaching of uncensored sermons, for making collections without the consent of the local police, for failure to announce the comings of gala days, or for holding too early services on such days, and for the holding of processions not entered in the schedule prepared by the governor-general. According to Leliva, in 1893 and 1894 the clergy had paid Governor-General Orževski fines aggregating over 2,000 rubles.

From 1887 hymns could be sung only at the cemeteries in conjunction with funeral services, and no banners or emblems, save the crucifix, were allowed to be carried in the funeral processions. In 1893, music made up a part of the ceremonies in the burial of a certain villager; for this the priest was fined 100 rubles, and the musicians were sentenced to three days in jail, while the son of the deceased villager was obliged to spend a whole week in confinement. From 1870 to 1887 religious instruction was given in the schools in the Russian tongue only, and on gala days all the Catholic students were compelled to attend the services in the Greek Orthodox church. In 1889, the schoolboys of Kaunas, Šauliai, Panevėžis, etc., went out on strike as a protest to this unfair requirement. Greek Orthodox hand-books of religious instruction were ordered for use in the schools; the Catholics had to use them also up to the year 1879. Since 1890 the Minister of Instruction did not insist on any more religious instruction for the Catholics. The brighter students were not permitted to enter the clerical seminaries. All the teachers of the gymnasium had to be Greek Orthodox. The language, the history and the literature of the Lithuanians were excluded from the curricula of the schools. Many churches were closed

without cause, as at Kražiai, where, in 1893, the villagers protested and bloodshed followed with over 150 victims among the villagers. The same happened to the villagers at Kęstaičiai in 1886. Some churches were even dynamited by the government as at Geraniunai and Sledzianovo. Such barbarous and violent deeds could not help but arouse a feeling of bitterness and unrest among the Lithuanians.

The larger part of Lithuania, comprising the governments of Kaunas, Vilnius, Grodno and Suvalkai, parts of Courland, Minsk and Vitebsk, is under Russian sway and under the direct jurisdiction of the governor-general of Vilnius; the smaller part of the country, sometimes known as East Prussia, is under German rule. The Lithuanian nation, but recently revived, is making its way fearlessly despite the unusual handicaps. The Lithuanian spirit became restless in the time of the Polish insurrection, and since the liberation of the serfs. Though Polonized, Lithuania, nevertheless, had a literature. Besides the Bible and other religious works which were printed when the wave of Protestantism spread over the country, Lithuania had an extensive literature of a polemical and theological character in the native tongue. The centers for the Protestant publications were Kėdainiai, Tilžė and Königsberg, for the Catholic—Vilnius. The first manifestation of national consciousness occurred in 1824, when Prof. Rheza, of Königsberg, published a translation of Aesop's Fables, and in the year following, when he issued a collection of Lithuanian ballads. In 1818 he had published a lengthy poem of Duonelaitis', entitled "The Four Seasons." In 1849, Prof. Kuršaitis began to issue a Lithuanian newspaper, called "Keleivis" (the Traveler). Among other workers in East Prussia were Prof. Gisevius, Dr. Sauerwein, Pastor Kelkis and many others. In Greater Lithuania the following distinguished themselves by their writings: D. Poškevičius, S. Stanevičius, S. Daukantas, Ivinskas and Bishop Valančauskas. The first Lithuanian almanac appeared in Prussia in 1846, and in Vilnius in 1847. Daukantas (+ 1864) will be remembered as the translator of Fedro's Fables and the History of

Cornelius Nepos; his monumental works, entitled "The Customs of the Ancient Lithuanians" and "A History of Lithuania" will ever be a source of delight to the patriotic Lithuanian. This feeling of National consciousness rose first from the gentry, and then took root among the villagers. Following the abolition of serfdom men born of peasant stock came forward and opened up a new future of literary activity. But the Lithuanians, caught unawares, received a well-nigh fatal blow from the government—Lithuanian books printed in the Latin characters were prohibited. This most stupid prohibition lasted from 1864 to 1904—forty long years. The Latin alphabet was considered the prime mover of disobedience, revolt and disloyalty. By forbidding the use of the Latin alphabet, Muravyov hoped, or rather expected, to curb the spirit of revolt; with the compulsory use of the "grazhdanka" he expected the easy and rapid Russification of the Lithuanian people to follow. But since the Latin alphabet was absolutely indispensable for the representation of the Lithuanian language in writing, a mere prohibition of the police could not undo the work of centuries. So in 1864 the publication of Lithuanian books and newspapers was transferred from Greater Lithuania to Lithuania Minor. Tilzē, or Tilsit, as the Germans prefer to call it, now became the principal center of Lithuanian publication. From this time on, whatever was printed in Lithuania Minor was smuggled into Lithuania Proper and distributed among the people. This prohibition inhibited to a large degree the normal growth of education and literature in Lithuania. One should not forget that in 1795, when Lithuania was added to Russia, and in 1815, when the congress of Vienna met, Lithuania had been guaranteed all her previous rights, and hence the use of the Latin alphabet.

According to the Ukase of 1864, instruction in the primary schools was to be given in the national language of the inhabitants, not even excepting Russia. But even in the government of Suvalkai this was not the case. In 1871 Count (not Leo) Tolstoy verbally commanded the teachers to bring the Russian language into use everywhere, and in this man-

ner he got around the law. In 1869, the Committee of Ministers decided to retain the Polish language in the religious instruction of the Polish youth in the gymnasiums, but the Lithuanians even of the government of Suvalkai still received their religious instruction exclusively in Russian and were compelled to use Russian prayer-books, which were published by the Vilnius district of instruction.

According to the decree of the Synod of Clairmont, in Catholic parishes of mixed population, additional services must be held in the language of the majority of the inhabitants. The Russian "workers" themselves arrived at the conclusion that it was a mistake to introduce the Russian language in the extra services of the Catholic churches. And yet as late as 1886 even the Committee of Ministers was afraid of granting the request of the Lithuanians, who desired the use of the Lithuanian language in ethnographical Lithuania. In many parishes the Latin language is used, in others the Polish is favored, although the Lithuanian parishioners understand neither the one nor the other; and this condition not infrequently leads to misunderstandings between the parishioners and their pastors, and occasionally even to bloodshed within the walls of the church.

Up to 1905 the Lithuanian language was excluded from the lower and higher schools of Lithuania. In the clerical seminaries the native tongue was taught in a most preposterous manner—preposterous because the Russian alphabet was obligatory.

Because of this policy of Muravyov the Lithuanian press disappeared from the native land altogether and had to seek refuge in East Prussia and the United States of America. From 1883 to 1905 the Lithuanian press flourished in Germany. "Aušra" (Dawn), "Šviesa" (The Light), "Apžvalga" (Review), "Varpas" (The Bell), "Ukininkas bei Naujienos" (Farm and News), "Darbininkų Balsas" (The Workmen's Voice), "Tevynės Sargas" (The Country's Guard), etc. were, printed in Tilžė alone. "Lietuviškasis Balsas" (The Lithuanian Voice), "Vienybė" (The Union), "Lietuva" (Lithuania), "Garsas" (The Clarion), "Rytas"

(Morning), "Kardas" (The Sword), "Nauja Gadynē" (The New Era), "Apšvieta" (Enlightenment), "Tevynē" (The Fatherland), "Dirva" (The Soil), "Pennsylvanijos Darbininkas" (The Pennsylvania Workman), "Saulē" (The Sun), "Ateitis" (The Future), "Žvaigždė" (The Star), etc., were published in America. All of the above periodicals were disseminated in that part of Lithuania which is under Russian sway—a fact which shows the futility of a great power's effort to denationalize a people who are bound to defend their rights come what may.

Raids, search, fines, imprisonment, and deportations to Siberia were matters of everyday occurrence. There was a steady rise from year to year in the number of confiscated books: From 1891 to 1893, 37,718 Lithuanian books were confiscated at the custom houses on the frontier; from 1894 to 1896 the number was 40,335 copies; from 1897 to 1899 the number fell to 39,024, and from 1900 to 1902 it rose to 56,182. Every year huge piles of books were burned up in the market place in Vilnius. Yet the Russian government posed as a disseminator of civilization.

The Russian government, unable to curb the activity of the Lithuanians, arranged an understanding with Germany. The government hoped to be able to cope with the situation by a prohibition of the Lithuanian press abroad. In 1897, while visiting at Peterhof, Kaiser Wilhelm II. gave his full consent to the scheme. In Tilsit a special political police agent was appointed. This agent could enlist the services of the district attorneys of Königsberg and Tilsit at will, and was also given the right to communicate directly with the Russian authorities on the frontier whenever he deemed it expedient to do so. Such was the combined effort of Germany and Russia to snuff the ardor of the workers who had regenerated Lithuania. This policy resulted in an interesting lawsuit in the city of Königsberg against five Lithuanians who were arrested for maintaining depots of Lithuanian literature and for smuggling books and newspapers into Lithuania Proper. The Berlin daily, "Vorwaerts," took up the cause of the Lithuanians and changed entirely the complex-

ion of the lawsuit—not the five Lithuanians, but the Czar himself was on trial for his inhuman and senseless policy toward the Lithuanians (1902). Not only did the people win a great moral victory, but the newspapers brought the terrible spiritual sufferings of the Lithuanian people before the eyes of the Western World.

When the night was darkest, the book smugglers would emerge from their haunts along the frontier and bring the people light. They were especially active during the rainy seasons. The system demanded men of untiring zeal and devotion and found them in Švedas, Bielakas, Antanavičius, Mikolainis and many others. Having passed the line of frontier guards, these men would hand their bundles to trusted men who carried the literature to the secret depots of distribution in the very depths of the country. The authors of these books and papers—intellectuals and priests—did not ask for compensation. Among them we might mention Dr. J. Basanavičius, P. Vileišis, Dr. V. Kudirka, P. Višinskas, Biliunas, Vaičaitis, Mačys, Šernas, and Rev. Tumas. In America, two large organizations—“Tėvynės Mylėtojų Draugyste” (Lovers of the Fatherland) and the Lithuanian Alliance of America—gained the everlasting gratitude of the Lithuanian people by publishing at their own expense books for gratuitous distribution in Lithuania. The ultimate distribution was entrusted to special agents, though, not infrequently, beggars, Jewish peddlars, farmers, laborers, teachers and the clergy did this work willingly. Of course, the Russian government stationed spies everywhere, and many arrests may be attributed to their activity. In 1898, 1899 and 1901 there were hundreds of people involved in lawsuits of a political nature.

Eventually the government became aware of the futility of its criminal work. All difficulties and persecutions notwithstanding, Lithuanian books and newspapers imported from abroad enjoyed a wide circulation and the discontent of the people gradually grew more potent. Then it was that Governor-General Sviatopolk-Mirskij, anticipating a revolt of the people, recommended the restoration of the press to

the Lithuanians. And so, on May seventh, 1904, the Senate passed a decree which set the prohibition aside. Thus did a little virile nation make the great power come to terms.

## XI. THE OUTLOOK.

The period of the suppression of the Lithuanian press witnessed the rise of the educational society among the people. "Atgaja" (Restoration), "Lietuva" (Lithuania), "Ausrinė" (Morning Dawn), "Teisybė" (Truth), "Sietynas" (The Pleiades), "Darželis" (The Garden), "Spindulys" (The Ray), "Žiburėlis" (Light), "Vienybė" (Union), "Artojų Draugyste" (The Ploughmen's Society), etc., are the names of a few of such educational organizations which sprang up among the people in spite of the government's measures of repression. Some of these societies gave scholarships to poor and worthy students at various universities. The police discovered that Sietynas was doing just this work; a lawsuit followed, and the customary punishment was meted out to hundreds of the "offenders."

Following the year of 1904, hundreds of new elementary schools and several classical and pro-gymnasiums for boys and girls were established. The Lithuanian students were now at liberty to organize their circles openly. In St. Petersburg and Moscow, Warsaw and Kiev, Dorpat and Riga, topics in history, literature, and economics were discussed openly in the students' sessions. Yet the Russian government refused to restore the University of Vilnius and paid no heed to the fact that the Lithuanians demanded the restoration for years and had shown the sincerity of their demand by collecting funds for same.

As soon as the Lithuanians were given their right of the press, a number of newspapers sprang into existence. "Vilniaus Žinios" (The Vilnius Daily News), "Ukininkas" (The Farmer), "Lietuvos Žinios" (Lithuanian News), "Viltis" (Hope), "Lietuvių Tauta" (The Lithuanian Nation),

Bitininkas (The Bee-Keeper), "Vairas" (The Rudder)—in the city of Vilnius, "Lietuvių Laikraštis" (The Lithuanians' Magazine)—in St. Petersburg, "Rygos Garsas" (The Echo of Riga) and "Rygos Naujienos" (The Riga News), in the City of Riga, the clerical "Šaltinis" (The Fountain), in Seinai, the monthly "Draugija" (Society)—in Kaunas, etc. Besides the newspapers, singing societies, farmer's circles, co-operative store associations, numerous societies of credit and two banks, one in Vilnius, the other in Kaunas, with numerous branches in the smaller towns, began to thrive. Great stress was put on the organization of young peoples' educational circles, The Lithuanian Society of Art and The Society of Science in Vilnius. Any nation could be proud of the excellence of the literary output of this reawakened nation. Žemaitė (The Samogetian), Bitė (The Bee) Lazdynų Pelėda (The Hazel Owl), Šatrijos Ragana (The Witch of Šatrija) are the pseudonyms of some of Lithuania's gifted women novelists. The clergy have contributed not a few gifted poets and authors, among them are Maironis, Dambrauskas, Margalis, Gustaitis and Tumas. The poets Vaičaitis, Steponaitis, Jovaras, Vaitkus, Gira, and Tunėnas in Lithuania, and Mačys, Jurgelionis, Račkauskas, Baniulis and many others in America have attained considerable renown. Daugirdas and Rev. Žiogs are excellent archaeologists. The late Bishop Baranauskas, the late Rev. Jaunis, the late Bytautas, Jablonskis, and Buga are the names of Lithuania's remarkable crop of philologists. Nor is there a dearth of composers as the names of the following will attest: Mikas Petrauskas in America, Naujalis, Šimkus, Stankevičius and Tallat-Kelpša in Lithuania. Čiurlionis, P. Rimša, Žmuidzinavičius, Kalpokas, Varnas, Braks of East Prussia, and Šileika and Dulbis of America are the deserving names in sculpture, painting and illustration. Dr. John Basanavičius, M. Biržiška, Janulaitis and J. Gabrys are specialists in the history of the Lithuanian nation. P. Vileišis, Smetona, Leonas, Dr. Grinius, Dr. Garmus, Dr. Matulaitis, and Dovydaitis, of Lithuania, and Šernas, Širvydas, Laukis, Balutis, Rimka, Smelstorius, Vitkauskas and many

others of America are popular as journalists or as writers on topics of general interest. Among the dramatists I should not forget to mention the late Alexander Fromas (Gužutis), and Gab. Landsbergis as the organizer of theatrical circles, especially the "Vilnius Kankles."

The Lithuanian nation has at least established its vitality. Moreover, the Lithuanians have given Poland some of her greatest citizens: Kosciuszko, Odyniec, Mickiewicz, Chodzko, Kraszewski, Domeiko, Karlowicz, Mme. Orzeszko, Miss Skirmunt, B. Limanowski, Miss M. Rodziewicz, not to mention numerous statesmen, historians, novelists, painters and men of science. Even Henryk Sienkiewicz is of Lithuanian extraction. In Russia P. Vileišis ranks very high in the field of civil engineering, and the poet Baltrušaitis is considered as being of the first rank. Jasiukaitis is famous as a short-story-writer in both his native and his adopted (the Russian) tongue. Many a German statesman and author is of "Old Prussian," i. e., of Lithuanian descent. Nicholas Copernicus was neither a Pole nor a German, but an Old Prussian. The German poet Simon Dach, the writer Gottsched, the philosophers Herder and Em. Kant, etc., were Germanized Lithuanians. The writer has mentioned many names to show that the Lithuanians—the very oldest of the living white races—are still full of vigor and very much alive, and, that all that is needed for the nation's development, is *independence*.

In 1905, when Russia was swept by the revolution, the Lithuanians called a convention in the city of Vilnius. More than 2,000 delegates from societies, parishes, communes and towns attended this important convention. The first act of this large body of serious men was to pay its solemn respect to those who had fallen in their country's cause. On December fourth and fifth, 1905, the convention passed resolutions advocating free education, freedom of organization and the urgency of fighting the bureaucracy of Russia. But this was not all. It demanded an autonomy for Lithuania with a Diet in the city of Vilnius, and that the representatives of that Diet were to be chosen without distinction of sex, race

or creed. This Diet of autonomous Lithuania was also to contain a representation of the neighboring races—with equal privileges for all—if they expressed a desire for it by a plebiscite. The re-annexation of the government of Suvalkai was an important demand. A federation with other autonomous races—in Russia and elsewhere—was advocated and approved. Not long after, in February, 1906, the Lithuanians of America held a similar convention in the city of Philadelphia, which was attended by 169 delegates from all parts of the United States. Besides approving the demands of the convention held in Vilnius, the Philadelphia assembly advocated the establishment of a Letto-Lithuanian Republic with the seat of government in Riga, Vilnius or Königsberg, thereby joining all the branches of the Lithu-Lett race into an independent body politic. The establishment of national universities in Vilnius and in Königsberg is a *conditio sine qua non* of the whole Lithuanian nation.

In the present titanic war in Europe, 400,000 Lithuanian sons are in the field—some fighting for the glory of Russia, others for the glory of Germany. The feelings and the desires of these reluctant warriors cannot be very different from the feelings and the desires which animate those of us who live in the felicitous American Republic. Americans of Lithuanian extraction uphold the policy of neutrality as expressed by President Wilson, the head of this great republic, and hope that at the conclusion of this appalling war, the American government will be able to play an important part in the settlement of the existent grievances among the various nations and races to the best interests of the world at large.

In conclusion, it might be of interest to say a few words about the Lithuanians in America. There are approximately 700,000 Lithuanians in Canada and the United States. The larger colonies are to be found in Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Pittsburgh, and in the cities and the towns of the coal regions.

The American Lithuanians are of various political affiliation concerning American politics. A deep interest

concerning the affairs and the condition of their mother country has caused them to split into three distinct Lithuanian parties: 1. the Social-Democratic, 2. the Clerical, and 3, the National.

As to the Social-Democrats, judging from the views they have expressed in their five newspapers and in the convention held in Brooklyn, N. Y., in October, 1914, it is evident that they do not expect any material changes after the war, excepting, of course, those which the Social-Democratic Party thinks it is certain of bringing about by a future revolution. However, an occasional comment in some of their newspapers show a slight leaning in favor of the Germans.

The Clerical or the Roman Catholic Party is composed of the Lithuanian clergy (about 150 in number) and their immediate followers. They control four weekly publications. Their chief organization—The Lithuanian Roman Catholic Union—has over 8,000 members. From their principal organ—the weekly “*Draugas*” (Friend)—and from some of their circulars, one can readily see that their sympathies are decidedly in Russia’s favor. The leading Clerical periodical—“*Draugija*” (Society), published in Kaunas, Lithuania—has not infrequently observed that the Lithuanians are merely tenants of the Russian Czar, and that he, being their landlord, can do with them as he pleases. The Lithuanian Clericals in America, however, have displayed a decided desire for autonomy under Russian suzerainty. To foster this purpose, they maintain an agent, Mr. Joseph Gabrys, in Paris, who conducts the Lithuanian Bureau of Information there, and who carries on a vigorous propaganda for the program of his party in the periodicals of France, Italy and England.

The National Party was launched but recently. The membership of the Lithuanian Alliance of America (having about 10,000 members) is in large part made up of this group, but expectations of the National Party are more comprehensive. First, they firmly believe that all Lithuanians, be they under Russian or German (East Prussia) sway, should, together with the Letts of the Baltic Provinces, con-

stitute a unit. This unit would consist of at least 7,000,000 people. It is expected that the Letto-Lithuanian country shall be organized into a distinct political state—a Letto-Lithuanian Republic with the capital at Vilnius, Riga or Königsberg. This party is neutral concerning the purposes of Germany and Russia in the present war. Not only does it mistrust both Germany and Russia fully, but it does not expect the republic as a gift from *them*. Since the Lithuanians cannot fight for their liberty under the present circumstances, they have arrived at an understanding with the members and descendants in America of the various oppressed nationalities in Europe and have established the International League for Equity and Freedom. The aim of this organization is to enlist the sympathies of the people of the United States, and through them and the good offices of the government of the United States they hope to have their righteous and humane aspirations presented before the Peace Congress at the conclusion of the war.

*Through the good offices of the governments of the United States of America and other neutral liberty-loving nations, the Lithuanians hope to attain freedom for the Letto-Lithuanian race.* But if the Lithuanians were forced to make a choice between either Russia or Germany, it would be extremely difficult at present to tell whether they would prefer the hammer or the anvil. The Lithuanians have suffered throughout the ages from German encroachments—the writer needs only to remind the reader of the fate of the Old Prussians, of the Letts, and of the Germanization, even of Lithuania Minor (East Prussia). They have suffered no less from Russia, as has been shown in the foregoing pages. In both countries the Lithuanians were prohibited from having their own schools where they could teach their history, literature and language. With the National Party at least the question *The Hammer or the Anvil?* still remains open.

All three parties agree that Lithuania should not, under any circumstances whatsoever, share in a common autonomy or independence with Poland. Utter incompatibility between the Poles and the Lithuanians in language, social

aims, and racial descent precludes a peaceful and mutually beneficial growth for both nations if they should have to guide their future ships of states in common. The Poles have been terribly persecuted themselves, and yet, simultaneously with the horrors inflicted upon them, they have persecuted the Lithuanians and the Ukrainians. The Lithuanians wish Poland the best success in her quest for independence and happiness. But they demand that Poland keep her hands off the governments of Suvalkai and those parts of the governments of Grodno, Minsk and Vitebsk, which are inhabited by Lithuanians.

All three parties are engaged in a pleasant competition collecting funds for the war sufferers in Lithuania.





